

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1882.

The Week.

MR. CLEVELAND, in accepting the Democratic nomination for the Governorship in this State, had the great advantage of not being obliged to apologize for anything. There was in his case no need for an appeal to popular pity on account of his having become a candidate for a high office in a way he was ashamed of. He was at liberty to tell the people without circumlocution what views he entertained upon questions of public interest, and what sort of a Governor he expected to be if elected. This he has done in fewer words than his competitor, Mr. Folger, found himself under the necessity of using. Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance cannot be called a brilliant or artistic production. There are no figures of speech and no rhetorical exaggerations in it. Its tone is simple, sober, and direct, with the exception of the paragraph on "free canals," in which Mr. Cleveland, like both party platforms and like Mr. Folger, believing that the people are thinking deeply upon it, abstains from expressing any opinion of his own. He lays stress on the necessity of surrounding the primary election "by such safeguards as will secure the absolutely free and uncontrolled action" of the real public opinion of political parties, and the position he takes on this point is so well supported by argument that he may be expected to give every well-considered legislative measure serving that end an energetic and intelligent support. What he says about the reform of the civil service might have been more specific, but he declares against the levying of assessments for partisan purposes in two sentences which could scarcely be more emphatic. The most striking peculiarity of Mr. Cleveland's letter is, however, that no reader unacquainted with the party standing of its author would, from the principles expressed, the measures advocated, and the language employed in it, be able to form the slightest opinion as to whether it was the letter of a Democratic, or a Republican, or an Independent, non-partisan candidate.

The platform adopted by the Democratic Convention of Connecticut is probably the longest and heaviest production of the kind produced by any party within the memory of this generation. It looks as if the authors of it thought their rank and file to be sadly in need of elementary instruction about the nature of our Government. But in the cumbersome mass of generalities and time-honored platitudes, and among a number of vague recommendations (of which that of a revenue tariff with incidental protection may serve as a sample), we find one paragraph which deals a fair and sturdy blow at a new trick of equivocation which has recently become popular with party managers. The Connecticut Democrats declare that, as "the adoption of an amendment to the State Constitution is a most important exercise of the sovereign

power vested in the people," and as "the exercise of that power has been wisely guarded by requiring such amendment to be first approved by the House of Representatives; to be then published with the laws, and submitted to the people; to be then approved by two-thirds of each branch of the General Assembly, and then, and then only, to be submitted to the people for rejection or adoption," therefore no member of the Legislature should vote to submit to the people a constitutional amendment of which he does not approve. In other words, a constitutional amendment is to be put through several stages of careful consideration and discussion, and the vote of a legislator in favor of submitting it to the people should be looked upon as equivalent to a vote recommending to the people the adoption of that amendment. When, therefore, a political party contents itself with the declaration that the subject-matter of a constitutional amendment has passed beyond the cognizance of parties, and that they have nothing to recommend *pro* or *con*, but simply to request the people to think deeply about it, that party is guilty of a cowardly evasion of its responsibilities.

Mr. Dickson, the foreman of the late Star-route jury, like so many people who have had experience of investigations, has a prejudice against them, particularly when they affect his own conduct. He has written a letter strongly objecting to any investigation under the direction of the Attorney-General of the charges of bribery in the Star-route cases, on the ground that they have been made against persons connected with the Department of justice, at the head of which the Attorney-General is. He wants to have the investigation taken out of "interested hands." It should be made, he thinks, under "the direction of the court before whom the case was tried." It seems reasonable that the court should investigate the matter, but then Mr. Dickson is overscrupulous in objecting to the Attorney-General making any inquiry at all. A moment's reflection will convince him that it is his duty to inquire into the doings of his subordinates, as, if they are engaged in bribing juries, they ought to be dismissed. Mr. Brewster may be a terribly wicked and corrupt man, and he may be plotting the ruin of the innocent Dickson, but this is not proved yet, and until it is he must be allowed to investigate the conduct of his own subordinates. What Mr. Dickson is really entitled to is two investigations, one by the Attorney-General and the other by the court.

The Boston *Herald* makes the curious mistake of supposing the *Evening Post* to be responsible for the nicknames or pet names of the local Republican statesmen here, of which it gave a list the other day—"Clint," "Steve," "Jake," "Barney," "Bob," and the like. It had no more to do with originating or applying these names than the *Herald* itself. They are the names by which these politicians are known both to each other and the public, and, more than this, every

one who has ever seen one of the owners recognizes the appropriateness of the names at a glance. Nor is there one of the "boys" to whom there would not be a perceptible absurdity in giving the title of "Mr." They would themselves be restive and awkward under it, and if the editor of the *Herald* were to see them, he would himself think it funny. Mr. Bernard Biglin and Mr. Michael Cregan, for instance, are terms which convey no definite idea of a person to any one in New York; but when we say "Barney Biglin" or "Mike Cregan," a vivid picture of a certain kind of man comes before everybody's mind's eye. We, however, despair of giving the *Herald* an adequate conception of the little circle by anything we can say. The best way to appreciate the appropriateness of the members' names is to come on here and see them engaged in a "conference" in the Fifth Avenue Hotel bar-room, when they are giving each other news of a "turning in the tide" or of "the growth of a better feeling within the last three days." The impression they produce on bystanders, we are bound to add, is not always advantageous to the Republican ticket. We have heard of two Republicans who, seeing them at Saratoga for the first time, were panic-stricken, and are going to vote for Cleveland.

The attempt of General Curtis to upset the anti-assessment statute, under which he was convicted nine months ago, by habeas-corpus proceedings at Washington, is chiefly interesting from the fact that it will afford the Supreme Court an opportunity to give its views not only as to the constitutionality, but as to the policy and intent, of the act. Such persistent efforts are made by politicians to confuse the public mind on the subject of "voluntary contributions," and the assumed importance of every employee of the Government being left perfectly "free to help the party" by contributing to campaign funds, that an occasional judicial reminder of the fact that the whole system is illegal, and an analysis of the reasons which have led to its being declared so, is by no means out of place. The three judges who decided the Curtis case below went into this at some length, referred to the assessment abuse as a matter of public notoriety, and interpreted the statute under which General Curtis was indicted as being plainly designed to break it up. The published synopsis of the Government brief looks as if the Attorney-General, whose interest in civil-service reform has never been very keen, meant to confine the discussion in the case to very technical limits. The language of the statute, it will be remembered, is:

"That all executive officers or employees of the United States not appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, are prohibited from requesting, giving to or receiving from any other officer or employee of the Government any money or property, or other thing of value, for political purposes; and such officer or employee who shall offend against the provisions of this section shall be at once discharged from the service of the United States, and he shall also be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$500."

Now, the argument of the Government brief is that this simply prohibits officers of the Government from engaging in a certain voluntary public employment outside their regular duties. The Constitution must have authorized Congress to secure by legislation the devotion by Government employees of all their time and attention to their public duties, and that is what this legislation is intended to do. Any one who receives money for political purposes becomes a trustee for some public purpose. "It seems that the Legislature might prohibit an officer of the United States from becoming a guardian, or executor, or private trustee; and, if it be competent for it to pass upon the propriety of such additional employment, that it may also prescribe the penalty to follow disobedience, so it be not excessive; and may go further and punish other persons who co-operate in procuring such disobedience, especially where, as in the present instance, such person also is an employee of the Government. All such details are matters of a discretion reposed by the Constitution in a coördinate department." This argument, it will be seen, proceeds upon the theory that the anti-assessment statute is similar in origin and scope to the statutes prohibiting Federal employees from engaging in business which may interfere with their duties, the most familiar of which is that which renders it illegal for the Secretary of the Treasury to be engaged in trade or commerce. Very likely this view of the statute will be sufficient to dispose of the case; but as a matter of fact every one knows that the statute grew out of and was intended to correct an evil very different from that of inattention to duty, and it will certainly be open to the Supreme Court to refuse to narrow its consideration of the matter to the limits proposed by the Attorney-General, and to give its view of the real meaning of the law in such a way that we shall have no more balderdash about "voluntary" contributions. The court of last resort can at least go as far as the court below, which said plainly that the system of assessments on salaries was meant to be made criminal because it tended to debauch the public service, and to introduce a corrupting influence among employees, by the payment of what must be regarded as blackmail on one side, or a bribe on the other. This is the real objection to the system, and it is to be hoped that the Supreme Court will plainly say so.

The story of the conspiracy against Mr. Irish, the Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, is a still clearer and more indisputable illustration of the dangerous effect the spoils system of the civil service has upon mentally or morally unsettled natures, than the assassination of Garfield was. In the Guiteau case the element of inordinate vanity, the greed of notoriety, inflaming the imagination of the baffled office-seeker, played a great part. But in this case, if the despatches from Washington tell the truth, we see a combination of villains who simply want to bring about the disgrace and removal of a good officer for the purpose of opening a chance for themselves; and to this end they steal a quantity of private letters with which they expect to poison the President's mind against that

officer, and make a plot to purloin bonds and plates from the Government office in order to demonstrate to the President that the officer whose removal they want to accomplish is careless and untrustworthy, and that it would be unsafe to keep him in his place. It is evident that, if appointments were made strictly on the ground of the ascertained fitness of the candidates for the duties to be performed, and upon no other consideration, the persons engaged in this conspiracy would have had no reason to think that the removal of Colonel Irish would be followed by the appointment of their man, who had the powerful recommendation of Senator Cameron, backed by the Republican Representatives from Pennsylvania, and that one of the conspirators would be his assistant. The spoils system has the effect of creating the impression that it requires only some removals to give every rascal a chance.

The full text of Frank James's letter appealing to Governor Crittenden for a restoration to citizenship furnishes some very extraordinary reading. As he is said to have retained counsel at a very early stage of the proceedings, it may fairly be inferred that the document is not entirely original. It bears a curious resemblance to the documents which politicians often publish, professing a readiness to meet "charges" made against them. He begins by declaring that "time has demonstrated that however carefully I may follow the path of good citizenship, and however successful I may be in gaining the confidence and respect of those who associate with me daily and know my every act, the work of heaping infamy on the name which my children are to bear goes steadily on and on as it began so many years ago." The work of defamation has reached the point at which, whenever a crime is committed in the West, it is laid to him. A politician, under such circumstances, generally declines to go into details, asks for a "suspension of judgment," and professes an entire willingness to meet his accusers at the "proper time." Frank goes one step beyond this by suggesting that instead of an investigation he should receive a full pardon without any—a way out of his difficulties which would commend itself to many of our most notorious statesmen. The curious part of the matter is that Frank's letter has won him a widespread sympathy in all classes of society, and a leading judge is quoted as saying, "If I were Governor, I would pardon him right away."

The Rev. J. P. Newman preached a sermon on Sunday on "The Moral Responsibility of Citizens—Let New York be Delivered," but we are bound to say he fell short, as Stalwart clergymen so often do, of making it quite clear how the deliverance is to be effected. He described the men who "rule this city" as "these uncouth creatures, these men who need to be washed first before they are handled, these men who can scarcely sign their names to the pay-roll, who make their mark; these men who have still the brogue upon their lips and the brogans on their feet, still waving the shillelah, forced by circumstances to be the rulers over this beautiful city of New York," and inquired

how these creatures would compare with Samuel, who is recorded as having said, "Show me where I have taken what is not mine, and I will restore it." The comparison would probably be greatly to the advantage of Samuel, but then it does not help us to deliver New York. Voting seems to be considered by Dr. Newman the only sure cure for the evils with which we are afflicted; but we are not aware that the citizen is inclined to neglect this duty. If going to the polls were all that was needed, New York ought to be one of the best-governed cities in the world. Besides "voting," Dr. Newman would have us "elevate" and "purify" the caucus, but he does not tell us how, probably because the caucus is made up not of the "uncouth creatures," but of friends of his own. Experience shows that this cannot be done by voting, and therefore Dr. Newman's exhortation to citizens "to be unified on one thing—the redemption of the city"—is, in the present crisis, of rather small value.

It is a notorious but lamentable fact, which, however, has nothing in it discreditable to religion, that nearly all the worst characters in finance and politics are the earnest supporters of some ecclesiastical body, giving both time and money to its interests, and faithfully attending its worship. Even Jay Gould is said to be a liberal upholder of a Presbyterian church up the Hudson, and we dare say has got to the point of making the minister believe that he is becoming concerned about his spiritual interests. Nearly all the great defaulters, forgers, and embezzlers, too, of the last twenty years have been active church-members or goers. These unhappy truths ought, it seems to us, to impose caution on clergymen about vouching for or eulogizing members of their flocks when accused of some financial or political immorality. As a general rule, ministers know nothing of the doings of their hearers, when down in Wall Street, or among "the boys" at the ward meetings, and cannot, therefore, answer for them at all in what the religious newspapers call their "secular department." For these reasons we hold it to be highly injudicious for the Rev. J. W. B. Wood, "a former pastor" of Mr. Steve French, to vouch for him as "upright, honest, straightforward, incapable of aught save what becomes a gentleman and a good citizen." We think it would be imprudent for Steve's present pastor to do so; for a former pastor to attempt it is positive rashness.

There is very great perturbation among members of the Land League, owing to the conduct of Mr. Ford, the editor of the *Irish World*, and the main instrumentality in raising the money, in declaring the subscription list closed in his paper, and the Land League defunct. The news appears to have created a sensation in Ireland, too, as well it may, for most of the ways and means comes from this side. However, there is no doubt that whether Mr. Ford be right in pronouncing the Land League dead or not, if he means that the time for it to die has arrived, he is not far wrong. It has accomplished, or something has accomplished, the objects for which it contended, and indif-

ference of the home Irish to its doings increases with every extension of the operation of the Land Act. Mr. Parnell evidently appears at a loss for a cause at this moment, so that this would appear to be a good opportunity to give the poor contributors to the funds a year or two of financial rest. The clearing up of the accounts will probably be a painful process, in which many patriots will suffer, but this is the inevitable consequence of mixing up agitation for remedial legislation with preparations for a political revolution. The disposition of funds subscribed for such hybrid objects has to be kept secret, and where secrecy about money begins malversation sets in.

The money market during the week, from being "stringent" became "easy," and the rates for loans fell from 8 to 9 per cent. to 5 @ 6 per cent. The banks gained \$2,559,250 in their reserve, principally because the Treasury disbursements were so large. When the rates for money were high, early in the week, the rates for foreign exchange declined rapidly to within about two cents to the pound sterling of the gold-importing point; but later the market for foreign exchange became stronger, and all thought of an early importation of gold was abandoned. At the Stock Exchange, weakness and depression were the features of the early part of the week, while later there was a recovery in the tone of the market as well as in prices. Railroad earnings continue large, and all the leading roads show an increase over last year.

There appears to be as yet no settled or dominating opinion in England as to what is to be the Egyptian settlement, owing probably to the fact that nearly all the politicians are taking their vacation. Lord Graaiville some time ago laid down the doctrine that the Liquidation Law could not be disturbed, being of an international character, but Mr. Chamberlain has recently said that hereafter the bondholders must take care of themselves, and Mr. Gladstone intimated a year ago plainly that it was his desire, and we presume his design, that the affairs of Egypt should be henceforth managed as far as possible by the Egyptians themselves. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which perhaps represents the ultra-Liberal view of the matter better than any other paper, while acknowledging that the British Government could not help intervening to suppress the military revolt and restore order, says that it is its duty now to "return as soon as possible to the principle of non-intervention and leaving other countries to manage their own business"; and it asks whether matters cannot be so arranged as to leave the Egyptian creditors face to face with their debtors to make their own arrangements, even if it is necessary to have another Conference of the Powers and abrogate or modify the Liquidation Law. The fact is, that if the bondholders make any money—or rather are saved from loss—through the war, it will leave a great stain on Mr. Gladstone's Administration. A war in the interest of the bondholders would, every impartial person admits, have been a crime, and now, if they profit by it—that is,

get out of the Egyptians more than they would have got without it—it will be useless to declare that it was undertaken either in the interest of order or for the protection of the Canal. There ought to be a new arrangement with the Khedive's Government, under which it should make a provision for the debt bearing some reasonable relation to the amount of cash received for the loans, and to the surplus of revenue available for debt-paying after the maintenance of a decent administration.

Mr. Forster's Coercion Act has just expired in Ireland, and it would be amusing, if it were not melancholy, to read the admissions of the English press of its total failure. Even the *Quarterly Review* declares that "it did no sort of good." Its passage, however, was fought for by the majority of the House of Commons and by the Ministry with the most intense bitterness, as an essential preliminary to the passage of the Land Act, and the opinions of the Irish members were treated as of absolutely no value in the matter, and the result was the disgraceful scenes of last winter on the floor of the House. It is now admitted that "most of the persons arrested under the Act were politicians, respectable shopkeepers, and farmers, who were actually the persons of the greatest influence in repressing crime." The Act, it must be remembered, was mainly the work of Mr. Forster, who administered it, and it never appeared that there was any better reason for supposing him to be an authority about Ireland than that when a young man, in 1847, he had visited the country as the agent of a relief association. The Arms Act, disarming everybody, was passed about the same time, and it is now admitted that that, too, has been a failure. The belief of the police is that the country contains plenty of arms of the best make, and it does not appear that any crime or outrage has been averted or delayed for one hour by the want of a good gun. The reason is obvious. Peaceable, well-disposed people gave up their arms, the criminal class kept them; concealment of them being the easiest thing in the world. The general result is that good Irishmen have now no weapons, and are much irritated, while bad Irishmen are as well armed as ever they were. The suspension of trial by jury in the present Repression Act was fought for in the same manner, by the English majority, with the same fierce tenacity. The opinion, even of the Irish members of the moderate school, that it was unnecessary and unwise, the opinion of the Irish judges that it would destroy popular respect for their office and popular confidence in their impartiality, was long and almost contemptuously disregarded. At the eleventh hour an alternative was inserted in the bill giving the Crown the right to special juries and a change of venue. This has been tried, and with perfect success. Conviction follows conviction without any more difficulty than in England, and, what is more remarkable, there is much less difficulty in getting testimony than there used to be. But it must not be supposed that there will be any lesson in these things for the House of Commons. If the question of re-

storing order in Ireland should come up again ten years hence, a Coercion Bill like Mr. Forster's would probably have just as good a chance of success as it had last year.

According to a Washington despatch, the Peruvian Minister has received a despatch from Ecuador advising him that Calderon, who has been for nearly a year a prisoner in Chili, has arrived at Arequipa, and is there "treating for peace," not with the Chilians, who are hundreds of miles away, but "with Dr. Logan, the newly arrived United States Minister." Mr. Elmore declared that "the news did not surprise him much, because he had been expecting something of this kind, in view of the solid union of the Peruvians under the provisional government of Calderon, of the loyal attitude of Bolivia as Peru's ally, and of the firm position occupied by the United States during the whole war as an impartial friend of all the belligerents." Arequipa is a town in the extreme southern portion of Peru, where Montero, Calderon's Vice-President, has established himself during the absence of the head of the Government. The news that Calderon is "treating for peace" with Dr. Logan does not cover the ground. All writers on international law are agreed that it requires at least two belligerents to make a treaty of peace, and hence when the "treating" begins it will have to be with the Chilians and not Dr. Logan. When Hurlbut was in Peru the idea undoubtedly prevailed in that country that peace could be made by him; but the attempt resulted in the recall of Hurlbut and the incarceration of Calderon in a Chilian "dungeon," from which he has no doubt come back a sadder and wiser man.

The latest news from Peru seems to confirm the story that Pierola is going to set up his Government again before long. Yglesias, who was formerly his Minister of War, has revolted against the Calderon-Montero Government, and is to convene a new Congress in Pierola's interest. Pierola himself has written a letter denying the story that he is to be used by Chili as a tool, and declares that he never, never will take the Presidency unless he is called to it by the suffrages of his countrymen. In other words, he professes to act on the well-known principle that "the office should seek the man, not the man the office." His enemies of course doubt his sincerity, because he has already once seized the Government by a *coup de main*, and they maintain that a man who will do this once will do it again. On the other hand, his friends point with pride to his disclaimer, as an evidence of the steady progress made by Peru in the art of self-government. In order to guard against any public wrong of this kind, however, Montero, who is Calderon's Vice-President, is said to be preparing to set up for himself at Arequipa. In this news, which comes by cable, nothing is said of Calderon's escape or reported negotiations for peace with Dr. Logan. Meanwhile, the Government of the country in the more civilized parts of it remains in the hands of the Chilians.

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, October 4, to TUESDAY, October 10, 1882, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

ELECTIONS were held on Tuesday in Ohio and West Virginia for Congressmen and minor State officers. In Ohio the Democrats elected their State ticket by a majority estimated from meagre returns at 15,000. They also claim to have been successful in fourteen of the twenty-one Congressional districts. A tolerably heavy vote was polled, and a great amount of "scratching" done. The Republicans attribute their defeat largely to the prominence of the liquor question in the campaign. In West Virginia the Republicans are reported to have made large gains, and elected one of the four members of Congress.

The Society of Independent Citizens of Cincinnati, which is composed of two delegates each from sixty-six different German organizations, met on Wednesday night and decided to support the Democratic State ticket at the coming election, but there was a tacit understanding that those who wished to, might vote for the Republican candidates for Congress and the Republican county ticket. The liquor question was the cause of this determination on the part of the Germans.

The election in Georgia on Wednesday resulted in a sweeping victory for A. H. Stephens, who was elected Governor by a majority of about 60,000. A heavy colored vote was thrown for Stephens. There is reported to have been little, if any, "bulldozing," and the absence of party feeling everywhere in the State is said to have been unparalleled since reconstruction. On Friday Mr. Stephens sent in his resignation of the office of Congressman from the Eighth District. It was accepted, and an election to fill the vacancy was ordered for November 7. It is understood that Mr. Gartrell, the defeated candidate for Governor of Georgia, will contest Mr. Stephens's election, not with the hope of getting in, but to show fraud and intimidation. Mr. Gartrell says he will summon many witnesses, including Senator Brown, and asserts that the charges made will be fully sustained.

Mr. B. Platt Carpenter, the Republican nominee for Lieutenant-Governor of New York, sent in his letter accepting the nomination on Friday.

On Wednesday the letter of Judge Charles Andrews accepting the nomination for Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals was received by the Republican State Committee.

On Tuesday the New York Republican State Committee nominated Mr. Howard Carroll for Congressman-at-large, to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Hepburn's refusal to accept the nomination of the State Convention.

The letter of Grover Cleveland, Democratic nominee for Governor of New York State, was published on Tuesday. Mr. Cleveland heartily approves of the platform of the Democratic State Convention; desires primary elections to be "uncontaminated and fairly conducted"; condemns the interference of "officials of any degree, State or Federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular wish"; approves of tenures of office in the civil service dependent upon "ability and merit"; denounces the levying of political assessments upon officeholders; opposes "interference by the Legislature with the government of municipalities"; thinks that the same authority which creates corporations should restrain them "when by combination or the exercise of unwarranted power they oppress the people"; and is of the opinion that "the expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern."

The New York State Temperance Convention met in Syracuse on Wednesday, and pledged themselves to vote for no candidate

for the Legislature who will not publicly pledge himself to vote for the submission to the people of an amendment to the State Constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors.

The Executive Committee of the Civil-Service Reform Association met in New York on Wednesday, and resolved to hold weekly meetings during the State campaign, and to prevent, if possible, the assessment of officeholders by politicians. Printed circulars are to be issued to the candidates for State offices and for Congress, questioning them on the subject of assessments and competitive examinations for office.

Gen. B. F. Butler has written a letter accepting the Democratic nomination for Governor of Massachusetts. He says he is reluctant to accept the nomination, but that he has decided that it is his duty, "waiving all considerations of personal sacrifice," to do so. He discusses at length the leading issues before the people, and says that to test his own sincerity in the matter of civil-service reform he is anxious that the experiment of competitive examination should be tried in Massachusetts, and is willing that competitive examinations should be made of candidates for the highest offices. He is in favor of such a revision of the tariff that there would be no tax whatever upon the necessities of life, and that the highest duties up to the point of possible collection would be laid upon luxuries. No taxes whatever, he says, should be laid upon American shipbuilding.

It is stated that General Butler is to be the counsel for the Navy-yard employees of the United States, who ask for extra pay on account of having done ten hours' work for an allowance lawfully intended for eight hours. It is said that the total amount of the claim is \$1,500,000.

John L. Barstow was inaugurated Governor of Vermont on Thursday. In his inaugural address he stated that the debt of the State is \$209,583. He recommends the appointment of a joint standing committee on phraseology to examine and correct the language of all bills presented to the Legislature. He also recommends the creation of the office of Attorney-General for the State. He favors the vesting of the powers of the State over railroad corporations in a board which, under proper restrictions, shall have full control of them.

The Connecticut State Democratic Convention met at Hartford on Wednesday, and nominated for Governor Thomas M. Waller; for Lieutenant-Governor, George G. Sumner; for Secretary of State, D. W. Northrop; for Treasurer, A. R. Goodrich; and for Controller, Thomas R. Sanford. The platform restates "Democratic principles as applicable to the conditions of to-day and the political issues of the immediate future." This "re-statement" is lengthy, and contains the usual platitudes and generalities. The platform then goes on to call for "strict economy in the expenditure of public moneys, and the restriction of appropriations from the National Treasury to objects clearly of a national character"; a tariff for revenue only, with incidental protection; civil-service reform, and "legislation to secure a most careful selection of all public officers, both State and Federal, by providing an appointing power for each class of officers, with special reference to the duties to be performed"; legislation to secure a free ballot and a fair count. It approves the veto of the River and Harbor Bill; denounces "oppressive legislation on the liquor question," while approving of "wise legislation" on this question, and expressing the belief that it can "most safely be left to the individual conscience, free from the blindness of party prejudice"; denounces the squandering of public lands as gifts to great railroad corporations; and calls for "complete and vigorous protection" by the Federal Government of all our citizens—foreign-born as well as native—when travelling abroad.

In California the Republican, Democratic, Greenback, Prohibition, and Granger parties have all made nominations for the State offices.

Defiant talk was indulged in by the members of the Mormon Conference at Salt Lake City, which adjourned on Sunday. President Taylor said: "Any man or set of men who curtail or deprive us of our constitutional rights are tyrants and oppressors. We intend to lawfully contend for our rights inch by inch." The returns of the registration have been published, showing 34,000 names, four out of nine being of men, and three out of four Mormons.

Gen. Newton Curtis, who was convicted of a misdemeanor under the United States statute forbidding any officer of the Government to collect political assessments, will contest the constitutionality of the statute before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Two men—W. F. Salter and Wilmot H. Ward—were arrested in Washington on Saturday night for complicity in a conspiracy to bring discredit upon the present administration of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing of the Treasury Department by purloining dies, plates, and other material. The object of the conspiracy was to bring about the removal of Colonel Irish, the Chief of the Bureau, and thus secure offices in the Department for Salter and Wilmot.

Ex-District-Attorney Wells, to whom the Government has entrusted the investigation of the bribery charges in the Star-route cases, has begun work in the matter. It is understood that the Government has secured important evidence against at least one member of the jury. Foreman Dickson has filed a protest with District-Attorney Corkhill against the transfer of the investigation from the District Attorney's office to the care of special counsel.

A new and stringent order, rigidly fixing the rules of conduct during working hours, has been issued in the Treasury Department at Washington. Secretary Folger directed this step, as he is satisfied that the discipline of the Treasury Department has been so lax as seriously to impair the efficiency of the force.

Statistics for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1882, show a large increase in the money-order business of the Post-office Department. The increase in the amount received for domestic orders over the amount for 1881 was \$8,324,449, and the increase in the amount received for foreign orders was \$1,852,588. The annual report of the free-delivery service of the Post-office Department will also show a large increase over the business of last year. The aggregate number of pieces of postal matter handled by carriers during the year exceeds 1,148,158,000.

It is estimated at the Signal Office that at least \$13,000,000 of property and many persons remained safely in harbor on account of the warnings given by the Signal Office before the cyclone of last month, and that the saving in this one storm pays the expenses of the Signal Service for at least ten years.

Commissioner Price has notified the Indians whose support is not provided for by treaty stipulations that they will be expected to labor for a livelihood.

More than \$20,000 have been collected for the Garfield Memorial Hospital. The officers are selecting a site, and the foundations will soon be laid.

The Longfellow Memorial Association has issued a circular to the "Children of America," inviting ten-cent subscriptions toward the fulfilment of the plan of the Association for the erection of a memorial statue in front of the poet's residence.

The New York agency of the Irish Land League has been closed, and the balance on hand has been transmitted to the Treasurer in Paris. This is generally looked upon as winding up the Land League in America. But it is

announced from Chicago that this is not so, since there is another "powerful branch" of the League in Chicago and Boston, supported by eminent champions of the cause.

The Bostonian Society formally assumed the custody of the Old State House, in Boston, on Tuesday. The object of the society is to "promote the study of the history of Boston, and the preservation of its antiquities." Mr. Josiah Quincy, jr., delivered an address.

Arrangements have been completed for two lines of steamers to run between Boston, Antwerp, and Rio de Janeiro. They will be run by a French company established more than a year ago under subsidies from the Governments of Canada and Brazil for carrying their mails, but sailing under the French flag.

The steamship *Herder*, of the Hamburg-American Packet Line, with mails, passengers, and general cargo, from New York bound for Hamburg, ran ashore at the head of Long Beach, about three miles west of Cape Race, Newfoundland, on Monday morning, in a dense fog. All of the 261 passengers and crew were landed without an accident.

Despatches from Pensacola, Florida, show that the yellow-fever epidemic has not abated. Within three days ending Tuesday, 175 new cases and ten deaths have been reported. The total number of cases to date is 1,350, and of deaths 115. Great distress prevails in the community, especially among the negroes, and the demands upon the Board of Health are incessant and increasing. The Board has made a formal appeal to the country at large for aid.

Frank James, the brother of Jesse James, the outlaw, surrendered to Governor Crittenden at Jefferson City, Mo., on Thursday. Frank held a reception at the McCarthy House, in Jefferson City, on Thursday evening, and "many prominent citizens were there seeking to shake hands with him."

FOREIGN

It is said to be settled that the brigades of General Wood and General Alison will form the army of occupation in Egypt. The rest of the troops have commenced starting for home. On Wednesday General Wolseley issued a general order complimenting the troops on their endurance, courage, gallantry, and good behavior. The organization of the gendarmerie is progressing, several hundreds of men having been already enrolled in Alexandria. The Governors of the Provinces have been ordered to send to Alexandria all natives suspected of complicity in the June massacres.

General Wolseley, in his detailed despatches published Friday evening, took occasion to defend the present constitution of the Army. He says he never wishes to have command of better infantry. The corporation of London has decided to present an address of congratulation to General Wolseley, and the freedom of the city and a sword of honor to Admiral Seymour.

A despatch from Cairo says that Arabi Bey demands a trial by Englishmen, declaring that he surrendered to them and would have escaped had he known he was to be tried by Egyptians, from whom he expects no mercy. M. de Lesseps has telegraphed to the President of the court-martial at Cairo by which Arabi is to be tried, testifying that during the war Arabi exerted himself to maintain the neutrality of the Suez Canal, and that he protected the lives and interests of several Europeans in Egypt. It is said that no genuine documents connecting Arabi with the outrages committed in Alexandria have yet been discovered. It is believed that the English counsel sent by Sir Wilfrid Blunt to defend Arabi will be denied access to him, the Egyptian Government being of the opinion that legal assistance from such a quarter will be of no avail, since the pleadings will be heard in Arabic. Meanwhile Arabi is treated as a condemned con-

vict by his jailers, which is considered in Cairo to be unnecessary harshness.

The special commission, under the Presidency of Ismail Pasha Eyub, which was appointed by the Khedive to prosecute all acts of rebellion committed by the military or civilians, held a sitting at Cairo on Monday, and interrogated M. Gaudel, late Prefect of Alexandria, who denied the charge made against him of having distributed bludgeons to the Arabs.

Of the two commissions to fix the amount of indemnity due to foreigners for losses during the late rebellion, the first will examine and decide in regard to all claims; the second, which will be appointed later, will decide regarding the means of raising funds, as the Egyptian Government insists that the revenues especially assigned shall remain untouched.

The important question in Egyptian affairs now is, What is to be the government there? Both the European residents and the natives regard a return to the system of joint control as the worst possible solution of the difficulties of the situation, and the report that joint control is likely to be abolished has produced an excellent effect. This report is based on the rumor that Sir Edward Malet, the British Consul-General, told the Khedive that the Joint Control would be abolished. A despatch from Cairo on Tuesday said that Sultan Pasha, President of the Chamber of Notables, looked upon Turkish intervention in Egypt as meaning anarchy; while, on the other hand, he maintained that the cost of the Joint Control was extravagant, and that £400,000 might be saved annually by the substitution of efficient native for foreign officers. He admitted that the mass of the population was unfit for representative government.

Lord Dufferin, in reply to the Porte's letter in relation to the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt, says that a portion of the British force has already left Egypt, and that the remainder is to follow as soon as possible; but that as England has made great sacrifices to pacify the country, she must take measures to secure the permanency of the pacification, and the temporary presence of a certain number of troops will therefore be necessary.

A despatch from Vienna on Tuesday said that the breach between the Sultan and the Khedive was widening, and seemed likely to lead to open rupture. The Sultan is said to have forbidden recruiting for the Khedive's future body-guard.

While the annual caravan, which recently departed from Cairo with imposing ceremonies, was journeying to Suez, on the way to Mecca, the canopy over the sacred carpet was overturned and the sacred emblem exposed to view. The Dervishes in charge were greatly excited by the accident, and it is probable that the caravan will have to return to Cairo and perform the ceremony accompanying the departure over again.

Signor Depretis, Prime Minister of Italy, addressing his constituents at Stradella, said that the relations of Italy with France and England were excellent; that Italy had always remained faithful to the concert of Powers; and that the acceptance by Italy of the invitation to intervene in Egypt would not have been consistent with her international duties.

The man Overdank, who was recently arrested for planning the assassination of the Emperor of Austria, has been brought before a court-martial on the charge of desertion from the army and high treason.

At a meeting of the Irish Conference Committee in Dublin, it was decided to invite a much wider circle of representative men to the Conference than was at first contemplated.

Mr. Davitt, speaking at Wexford on Sunday, said that he was disappointed at the outcome of the Land League agitation. He said that the English Government had been furnished with a pretext for action by outrages committed by some of the Irish people. Pleading at

Westminster, he said, was useless. The people should rely upon Irish determination at home to arraign landlordism before the civilized world as the cause of crime and disorder.

Mr. Dillon, in reply to a resolution of the Liverpool Land League requesting him to reconsider his intended resignation of his seat in Parliament, writes that he will give the matter his earnest attention, and says that nothing but ill-health could have caused him to quit politics.

The closing of the Land League fund has caused a great sensation in Dublin, many persons being anxious to know how the money was spent.

A man named Flanagan and his wife, who are suspected of having been connected with the murder of Lord Mountmorres at Clonbur, County Galway, on the 25th of September, 1880, have been arrested.

The weapons used by the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Under-Secretary Burke have been found concealed in the rafters of a stable in the rear of a house in Dublin. The weapons found were four knives, nine inches long, with blades three-quarters of an inch wide. There were discolorations on them which, on chemical analysis, proved to have been made by human blood. It is hoped that the murderers will yet be captured. Meanwhile the authorities observe the strictest secrecy.

A despatch to the *Pull Mall Gazette* from Dublin says that, owing to the alarming increase of pauperism in the south of Ireland, the Dublin Union proposes to send 1,000 able-bodied men and women to Canada, at a cost of £7,000.

A conference of coal miners, representing nine counties of England, will meet at Manchester on Friday next to decide upon the time at which notices shall be given of a general stoppage of work. The North Staffordshire coal-mine owners have acceded to the demand of the miners for an advance of ten per cent. in wages. Twenty thousand men are affected by this decision.

A despatch from Berlin says that Herr von Puttkamer, Minister of the Interior, was present at an electoral meeting of Conservatives on Wednesday. This fact has excited comment, as Prussian Ministers have hitherto invariably held aloof from such meetings. The various sections of the Liberal party count with some confidence on gaining seventy seats from the Conservatives at the forthcoming elections.

The Spanish Minister of Marine has drafted a bill asking for a grant of 30,000,000 pesetas, to be devoted to purchasing two iron-clads to be constructed in England. The bill will be presented to the Cortes at the opening of the session. Señor Comacho, Minister of Finance, has informed the Council of Ministers that the expenditures for the first half of the present year balanced the revenue for that period, and that the receipts exceeded the expenditures in several of the provinces. The Council of Ministers has decided to refuse the offer of the Sultan of Morocco of a strip of territory around Ceuta in return for the cession by Spain of the island of Santa Cruz de la Mar, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

Marshal Serrano finds difficulty in carrying out his plan of the formation of a new party, owing to differences which have arisen between the Democrats and the Liberals. The latter desire the Constitution of 1876 modified by the introduction of the principles of the Constitution of 1869, but the Democrats, though willing to form a new party, are unwilling to support the proposal for the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1869.

A despatch from Manila on Monday said that the fatal cases of cholera in that town now average from thirty to forty daily, and the deaths from the disease in the vicinity of the town average twelve daily.

GENERAL BUTLER'S ACCEPTANCE.

GENERAL BUTLER's letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination in Massachusetts, which has at last appeared, is in many respects the most cheering political document which we have seen for a long time. As every one knows, the General had somehow managed to incur the reputation of persistent office-seeking, and, indeed, was freely accused of having left the Republican party in Massachusetts because they would not nominate him for the Governorship. He has accordingly been accused of "laying pipe" during the past year for the Democratic nomination. It is pleasant at this time of great political demoralization to hear from himself that this was all a mistake; that he had not thought of being a candidate at all, owing to business and professional engagements; and that it is only after "conference with friends and clients" that he has consented to make the necessary sacrifice and take the nomination.

It has been whispered about, too, for some years, not only that the General had no conscience himself, but thought that nobody else had, and that he changed his party whenever there was anything to be gained by it. We are happy to be able to state that this, too, is an error. He says that he does change parties occasionally, but he never "changes the principles on which he acts"; and though he "discards errors" now and then, he does so only under the direction of a "riper judgment and an instructed conscience." It is of course open to cynical cavillers to find fault with him here for not describing the principles on which he acts, and to insinuate that the principle known among plain people as "the care of No. 1" has been the great guide of his chequered career. But this odious insinuation is, we think, effectually met by his subsequent statement about his conscience. He says in substance that whenever he does anything novel it is under the control of an instructed conscience. This shows two things: first, that he has a conscience, and, secondly, that he cultivates it. This we call moral growth. Many would call it spiritual growth, but we do not care to exaggerate, or to draw any picture of the General's character which any one will call highly colored. The mere fact that he has a conscience which he trains is enough for us, and it ought to cheer some of the ministers who preached on Sunday on the degradation of politics.

There is one thing more in the letter which even the most hardened will, we think, not be able to read without a slight moistening of the eyes. Many are impatient about the slow progress of the civil-service reform movement, and discouraged by the indifference to it of the politicians, from the President down. Now, it has long been popularly believed that General Butler used to be one of the most contemptuous of its foes, and that, in fact, when his conscience was in the early stages of its growth, he used to speak of the reform as humbug of a certain extremely unfortunate character. He has exploded this delusion in a few well-chosen words, to which no paraphrase or summary would do justice:

"The public mind is exercised, if not enlightened, upon the subject of the tenure of office and

mode of selection of persons for public employment and trusts.

"Integrity, capability, and efficiency in the incumbent have always seemed to me to insure to the occupant the best tenure of office. This in a public life of more than a score of years, wherein I had influence more or less potential and sometimes controlling, has always been my guide. So that I can assert that I have never asked an officer so qualified to give way to any appointee of my recommendation. Indeed, upon the desirability of this tenure I can hardly believe there is not a substantial agreement in the minds of all good men."

As to competitive examinations, too, as a mode of selecting candidates, he not only approves of them, but he advocates their application to candidates for all offices whatever, including the Governorship of Massachusetts. "To attest my own sincerity in this regard," he says, "I am quite willing that competitive examination should be made of candidates for the highest office." In other words, he offers to compete with Mr. Bishop on a set of questions calculated to test their comparative fitness for the duties of the Governorship. No civil-service reformer, be it remembered, has ever dared to ask for anything like this. In fact, they all timidly protest that they would not apply their system to the offices now elective at all. But here is a candidate for one of the highest elective offices in the country who goes further than any of them, and offers himself as the first subject of the test. He does not, like other politicians, say he is in favor of the reform, but thinks it is surrounded with great difficulties; or say that he is in favor of it, but is not sure about "this particular measure." He says, in substance, that this particular measure has only one fault in his eyes, and that is that it does not go far enough. And yet this is the man whom our press has been denouncing for about thirty years as a national disgrace. What a commentary this is on the perspicacity of our editors. And what a lesson it teaches regarding the danger of judging men by externals. Even the personal appearance of this excellent person has been treated as an indication of a depraved nature.

One great source of anxiety to the Bostonians will be removed by this letter. One of their chief reasons for dreading Butler's election was the scandal they thought would be caused by the spectacle of his going out to Harvard College on Commencement Day to receive his LL.D., followed by a roaring mob of vicious and illiterate followers. Many old Bostonians have felt as if this scene, if they ever beheld it, would kill them. They will now feel easier, for they see that, if elected, his appearance at the old University will be simply the triumph of a cultured conscience over the temptations and trials of American life, and of the application to public affairs by an elderly lawyer and soldier of the loftiest principles of private morality. If he has a large following of "the boys," too, it will certainly be a hushed and deeply-moved crowd, for these rude natures are not insensible to the influence of openly-avowed spiritual regeneration.

MEDITATION IN POLITICS.

THE planks adopted by the two parties in this State with regard to the canal question do not seem to have attracted the attention they deserve. This cannot come either from the

nature of the subject or the disposition of it made by the two parties, because the subject is one of great importance, and the treatment it has received is novel. There is nothing in New York politics which in the past, from the time of DeWitt Clinton to that of John Kelly, has caused more discussion and excitement than the canals. The canals have made and unmade Governors of the State; have convulsed the Legislature with investigations of charges of fraud and corruption; have even affected the election of judges of the Court of Appeals. Owing to the competition between them and the "trunk lines" to the West, vigilance about the canals is frequently spoken of by good Anti-Monopolists as a part of the Price of Liberty. It is only a few years ago that, in order to preserve these highways of the people more effectually, they were "taken out of politics" by means of constitutional amendments devised by Mr. Tilden; and hardly had they been taken out when Mr. Silas B. Dutcher felt it necessary to put them in again. In fact, the canals, ever since they were dug, have been one of the centres of politics in this State, and never probably in their history has the canal question assumed a more momentous shape than this year, when the question to be submitted to popular vote is whether the canals shall be free.

On this subject both parties have adopted resolutions, evidently prepared by some of the ablest minds in the two conventions, with great care and deliberation. The Republicans declare that "we urge the people of the State, without reference to party, to examine with intelligent care the constitutional amendments submitted to them, and to give full expression at the polls to their judgment and wishes thereon." Considering the fundamental differences which exist between the two parties on other subjects, and which have heretofore existed as to the canals, it is wonderful how closely what the Democrats say resembles this: "We approve the submission to the vote of the people of the constitutional amendment in favor of free canals, and we have full confidence that they will dispose of it in such manner as to promote all the great interests of the State—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial." There is really, it will be seen, no practical difference between these planks. The real question is whether the voter ought to vote for free canals or not, and on this point what the two planks urge upon the voter is to meditate thoughtfully upon the question before voting.

It must strike the most casual and unreflecting voter that there is something new about a recommendation of this sort coming to him simultaneously from two great historical parties. Hitherto it has been the custom for party platforms to recommend action one way or the other. To tell him that he should proceed to meditate on what action he ought to take, seems to mark a new phase in platforms, and one which promises to prove of great interest in future.

The value of meditation as a preparation for the discharge of duty has always been recognized in the religious world, but the application of religious methods to politics is a novelty. Some thinkers have maintained that

there is a close connection between morals and politics, but even this idea has never gained a strong foothold in New York, and the notion that religion and politics are in any way connected has been distinctly repudiated, in at least one party, by the undisguised hostility so currently expressed to the introduction of "Sunday-school methods."

Whatever the real explanation may be, the value of meditation to party managers cannot be doubted. The great trouble with them ever since the close of the war has been to find some method of dealing in a safe manner with questions in which the public is interested but in which they are not. Hitherto they have only tried two ways, neither of which has proved a success. One may be called the alternative method, which involves the construction of a plank, on any question about which the public is divided, in such a way that it will appear to commit the party to whatever shade of opinion the voter favors. This method has been often adopted in dealing with the questions of prohibition and protection, and great skill has been attained in its use. We find, for instance, a very fine specimen of the alternative plank in one of the Ohio platforms this year: "Resolved, That we favor a tariff levied to meet actual needs, and so adjusted in its details, with a view to equality in the public burdens, as to encourage productive industries and afford labor just compensation without creating monopolies."

The other method, which might be called the bluffing method, and which has been frequently applied to civil-service reform, not only in platforms, but even in letters of acceptance and inaugural addresses, consists in the construction of a plank professing that the managers themselves take the deepest interest in the very idea of reform they are believed to oppose, and insisting that it ought to be dealt with vigorously and without delay. A civil-service plank constructed on this plan has often appeared to take the wind out of the reformers' sails completely, for it makes the agitation for reform, when the leaders of the party are so earnestly in favor of it, and determined to carry it through, look ridiculous. Why should any one in New York, for instance, go about saying that the Machine is opposed to civil-service reform, when it has just declared, exactly as Mr. Curtis or Mr. Eaton might, that "we pledge President Arthur our earnest support in favor of every effort for the enforcement of civil-service reform"?—especially when President Arthur's language on the subject is as follows: "The rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform in the main to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. Original appointments should be based on ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers." Is not this what Mr. Curtis wants?

But the trouble is that neither the alternative nor the bluffing method seems to be a complete success, for notwithstanding their long use, large bodies of voters show an increasing disposition to regard them as fraudulent devices to gull the voter. It is obvious

that this objection cannot be raised against planks calling upon the voter to meditate upon subjects as to which disagreeable and dangerous differences of opinion exist. Meditation can be applied without fear, not only to the canals, but to protection, prohibition, civil-service reform, and every other current question. To call upon any one to meditate upon these topics cannot be considered fraudulent or deceptive, because it is the duty of the good man to meditate before acting; and if both parties call for meditation, neither can possibly lose votes, so far as the question meditated upon is concerned. No Republican will be made less likely to vote for Folger, no Democrat less likely to vote for Cleveland, by meditating on free canals. It is important, however, that both parties should call for meditation simultaneously, for if one does, and the other calls for action, great confusion might be introduced. As the managers of both parties, however, would much rather have the voter meditate on the subjects we have mentioned than dispose of them in any other way, an arrangement or "deal" for mutual convenience might, we should think, be made, by which the method of dealing with the question of free canals should be applied universally to all political questions as they now exist, or may hereafter arise.

"SPOILING THE EGYPTIANS."

A PAMPHLET on Egyptian affairs, entitled "Spoiling the Egyptians," by Mr. Keay, has produced a good deal of impression in England, having already run through four editions, and it has been reprinted in this country. It purports to be a narrative of the circumstances which led to the deposition of the late Khedive Ismaïl and the rebellion of Arabi and the Army, extracted almost textually from the official correspondence in the British Blue Books presented to Parliament. As told by the author, it is perhaps the most disgraceful tale of modern politics. It may be summed up by saying that it is the story of enormous usurious loans contracted by the Khedive with English and French bankers, and spent part in costly public improvements, and part in riotous living; of cruel pressure by these bondholders for payment of their coupons, backed up by diplomatic threats, and resulting in frightful oppression of the people, in the personal intimidation, humiliation, and final deposition of the Khedive because he could not comply with their demands, and in the continuance of the tyranny and extortion under his son, the bondholders' puppet, until the Army, expressing the popular despair, rose in insurrection.

The pamphlet is very ingeniously constructed, because, as we have said, nearly every assertion in it seems to rest on a quotation from official papers. We have, however, been inclined to distrust it from the first ourselves, owing to the finish and completeness of the charges. The villany of the bondholders and the Government was too clearly made out. It seemed incredible that they should have been so barefaced in their operations, should have taken so little pains to conceal or put a good face on them, and that any Christian government in our day, much less

one making such professions as Mr. Gladstone's, should lend the aid of the public force to the consummation of such a series of crimes and atrocities. The whole story reminded us a little of some of our "campaign charges" in the Presidential canvass, and particularly of that one in which the Republican candidate has a one-armed soldier driven from his door by an insolent lacquey, who, after having asked him for his card on a silver salver, reports that his master is "sick of soldiers." It seemed astounding, for instance, that a man who stands as high, both in public and private life, as Mr. Goschen, should have gone to Egypt as the agent of the bondholders, one of whom he was himself, and, while intimidating the Khedive to the best of his ability, should have procured, as Mr. Keay says he did, the deportation of an estimable man, Ismaïl Sadyk Pasha, who stood in his way, to the White Nile, or, in other words, to certain and speedy death.

In the last *Contemporary Review* there appears an article from Mr. Sheldon Amos, the well-known Professor of Jurisprudence, who has resided in Egypt, and has contributed many letters to our own columns on the condition of that country, which confirms these suspicions. He accuses the author of the pamphlet, Mr. Keay, both of practising a deception on the public in professing to have before him in the Blue Books a connected narrative of the course of events in Egypt, when he must have known it was very disjointed and imperfect; and of having grossly garbled the documents from which he actually quoted. Both charges seem to be proved. The whole of the diplomatic correspondence is never produced by the Government in England until the transaction to which it relates has been completed. The gaps in that relating to Egypt are unusually large, owing to the partnership with France, and the delicacy of the situation in which the interference in Egypt placed both England and France toward the other Powers. There is consequently a large body of facts which had a powerful influence on the conduct of the British Government of which there is no mention in the Blue Books at all.

But this is not all. Mr. Amos shows that Mr. Keay has either wilfully or through carelessness failed to quote letters which tell against his theory, or which put a different face on the transactions he describes, and this on some most important points. One of these is the evasion of taxation by foreigners resident in Egypt, which he distinctly charges the British Government with having connived at or encouraged, quoting only one sentence of a despatch of Colonel Stanley to Lord Tenterden, and omitting all mention of a most important one from Lord Derby to Mr. Adams, in which this evasion is emphatically condemned, and pronounced legally indefensible except as regards the capitation or poll tax. As to the case of Ismaïl Sadyk Pasha, whose judicial murder Mr. Goschen is accused of instigating, Mr. Amos quotes Mr. De Leon, the American Consul-General, who says Ismaïl Sadyk was banished because, after having for years played the part of a remorseless and ingenious tyrant

and torturer of the peasantry, a "cry went up to earth and heaven against his oppression," and at last, "seeing in the financial scheme proposed by Messrs. Cave, Goschen, and Joubert the end of his power and his illicit gains, he fought desperately against them, and rendered his own removal necessary to the Khedive, through the revelations he made and threatened to make, whether true or false, equally embarrassing to his master's credit."

Mr. Amos, however, throws more of the responsibility for the financial troubles of Egypt on the folly and extravagance of Ismail than he apparently can be made to bear, if we are to trust the statement of the situation made in an article in the same number of the *Review* by Mr. Mulhall, the well-known statistician. According to Mr. Mulhall, although the Egyptian debt amounted in 1879 to \$500,000,000, the three last Khedives have only received half this amount in cash, and Ismail only \$210,000,000 of it. The various loans were issued at all the way from 90 down to 73. In the Oppenheim loan he gave bonds for \$160,000,000, and only received \$55,000,000 in cash and \$45,000,000 in depreciated scrip. The most important question, however, as regards Ismail's blameworthiness, is, What became of what he did receive? The Anglo-French theory has all along been that he spent the most of it in "toys and lust and wine," palaces, and ironclads. With regard to this, however, Mr. Mulhall makes a very good showing for him, for he credits him with useful public works costing over \$230,000,000, including railroads, canals, docks, harbors, and lighthouses, and charges him with only \$5,000,000 for palaces and opera-houses. The conclusions he reaches are:

"1st. That the original cause of bankruptcy was the excessive charge for sinking fund, which should never have been more than 1 per cent.

"2d. That Ismail Pasha was not so black as Lord Salisbury thought, or as the bondholders painted him.

"3d. That the net product of nine loans since 1862 was only 50½ millions, and that the public works done by Ismail Pasha cost 46 millions.

"4th. That European contractors charged 80 per cent. profit, and European bankers sometimes 28 per cent. interest.

"5th. That the Liquidation Law of 1880 first put the finances on a sound footing, and that its effects have been just and beneficial."

MR. GLADSTONE'S PROSPECTS.

MR. GLADSTONE has been making a speech, in which, besides expressing his gratification at the Egyptian success, he proclaims the absolute need of a change in the procedure, to enable the House of Commons to transact the business it is called on to do. His words on the subject now, it is hardly necessary to say, have a weight and significance which before the Egyptian success they would have been far from having, and still further from having before the surrender of the Lords on the Irish Arrears Bill. It is safe to say that immediately before the latter event his Ministry was considered doomed in the eyes of nine observers out of ten of both parties in England. The Tories were confident that a dissolution was impending, and equally confident that the election would either leave him in a minority or without a working majority. He was saved

on this occasion partly by the timidity of some of the Peers, but in a greater degree by the necessities of the Irish landlords, with whom the Peers naturally felt considerable sympathy. The bill promised a large sum in cash to men who had received no rent for two or three years, and whose margin of rent, over and above liabilities, has really been swept away by the reductions which the Land Act Commissioners are making. On a very large proportion of Irish estates the life tenant has not much over twenty-five per cent. for himself after he has met the charges, and this twenty-five per cent. has been knocked off in the very cases in which it was of most importance, because the needy landlords were generally those exacting the highest rents. Consequently the arrears came as a sort of bonus in cash to a large body of men having the strongest claims, both social and political, on the consideration of the Tory party, and these claims furnished a convenient excuse, and probably one that enabled them to preserve their self-respect, to Lord Salisbury's followers for deserting him, without laying themselves open to the charge of simple cowardice.

Whatever the cause, however, the gain to Mr. Gladstone was great, because it accomplished in the eyes of the public the ruin of the only Conservative leader who has the dash which the traditions of the place somehow call for. It is almost a rule that the Tory chief in our time should be an audacious man. Since Sir Robert Peel's day he has always been audacious. Lord Derby was audacious; Beaconsfield was audacious; Lord Salisbury is audacious, and Sir Stafford Northcote is not, and therefore, *pro tanto*, disqualified for the leading position. Since the collapse on the Arrears Bill, however, Lord Salisbury has practically ceased to lead, for the Tory Peers, in refusing to follow him, confessed publicly that they did not trust his advice. This would have renewed Mr. Gladstone's lease of power even if the Egyptian success had not occurred. But the Egyptian success has really made him master of the situation. There has been a neatness about it which, for political purposes, it would be impossible to surpass. The victory of Tel-el-Kebir was very brilliant, and would have been a very good thing to meet Parliament with when it opens on the 20th of this month, but its Parliamentary usefulness would have been greatly diminished if the war had been protracted by Arabi's keeping the field, even with shattered forces, or by anything like fanatical insubordination on the part of the population, entailing great expense, and promising to make Egypt a troublesome conquest like Afghanistan. As things have gone, the situation could hardly be better, if Mr. Gladstone had had the power of arranging it all as a little *coup de théâtre* to restore his shattered prestige, and suppress the mutinous discontent of his followers. It is, indeed, very much what Beaconsfield thought the situation in Afghanistan was, after General Roberts had set up Yakub Khan in Cabul, and before Cavagnari had been murdered. Of course there is a possibility that the pacification of Egypt may still turn out a troublesome job, but it is quite certain that the troubles will not become serious before Parliament meets, and that they will not be military in their character, as those of Af-

ghanistan were. The Egyptian is a foe of a very different temper from the fierce barbarians whom Lord Beaconsfield tried to turn into "strong and friendly" dependents of the British Crown.

It is fair to expect, therefore, that when Mr. Gladstone now asks for the *clôture*, he will get it. That Irish legislation is out of the way, all are agreed. Even Mr. Parnell is now only trying to find out what more he wants. He and his followers will not be able to formulate a fresh grievance before the coming session. The English Radicals are, therefore, well aware that nothing but the rules of procedure stand in the way of the English legislation with which Mr. Gladstone evidently means to crown his political career; and there are not many Liberal members who will venture to stand in the way of it by any squeamishness about the rights of minorities. Part of this legislation will, by setting up representative county government, drive the Tories from their last stronghold and intensify hatred of Gladstone, which has already assumed in some of the members of the party the character of a mania.

FROM MEXICO TO ACAPULCO.—I.

HAVING to make the journey from the city of Mexico to Acapulco, I considered it fortunate that my companion was to be a colonel. He was a veritable colonel. He had seen twenty years' service in the different wars of his country, beginning with that called of the Reform, against the Church and aristocratic party, including that called of the Second Independence, against Maximilian, and coming down to the resistance to Porfirio Diaz, to whose side, however, he had now become converted. He had just fought a duel with sabres (the Government having kindly set apart a vacant portion of a barracks for the prosecution of this ceremony without interruption), and slashed his opponent, a brother officer, so that the latter lay in a grievous state in hospital. Army duelling, it may be said, here, as in France, is winked at. The situation seems to be, that if a man fights he is reprimanded; if he does not fight, he is apt to be cashiered. And the Colonel had bullet-holes through various parts of his body, as I had occasion to see further on. He was now going to assume an important command in a disturbed section of the country, and would take, to reach it, the same steamer as myself. Not that he was the most amiable of travelling companions—at least, in the earliest stages of the way; on the contrary, he began by being much wrapped up, probably in thoughts of his mission, and indulged also in some examples of naïve selfishness. But it is a journey against which one is warned as being of a difficult and dangerous character. It is rarely travelled nowadays. There are perfectly authentic instances of Mexicans in good circumstances who, rather than encounter its inconveniences, though it be but 300 miles, have gone to Vera Cruz, sailed thence to New York, crossed the continent by railway, and taken the Pacific Mail steamer southward from San Francisco. This may have been done in the rainy season—from August to December—which is naturally the worst for travellers. The route is a mere trail, a footpath, full of the most eccentric variations, for horses and mules. No wheeled vehicle ever has passed, or could by any possibility pass, it. Three large rivers cross it, and over these there are no bridges. "Supposing they are swollen by the floods, as they may very well be," said informants, putting the case in that bold and alarming way in which inform-

ants about unusual things delight; "you may be tediously delayed on their banks so long as to miss your steamer." The steamer touches at Acapulco only once in two weeks. "Again," they said, "portions of the route lie in ravines and the dry beds of streams for days at a time; but when the waters occupy their natural bed themselves, what room remains for travellers?" It seemed to be implied that in the rainy season (and it was now the first days of August) the journey was not possible at all. If to all this were to be added some dangers to life and property—as the novice entering upon so wild a section would hardly be American, at any rate, if he did not suspect—it can easily be seen that one might feel more comfortable with a military man of standing as a part of the expedition. The journey, under favorable circumstances, consumes ten days on horseback or muleback, besides the day devoted to going down in the stage-coach to the small provincial city of Cuernavaca, where the trail really begins. This is time enough for study of character, if one chance to have a character worth the study, and for the obtaining of more or less confidential opinions, and there were many confidential opinions about the country which I still wished to obtain. I could think of numbers of others, therefore, whom I had less rather have as travelling companions than so dignified and intelligent a person as a colonel in the Mexican army.

A decision to go was precipitated, while dallying with the idea, by the sudden arrival of the rainy season in town itself. Down came the rain one afternoon while I was reading in the National Library, and in an hour the streets of the right-angled city were canals, with the rare cabs and some men on horseback wading hither and thither and giving friends a lift, serving as gondolas. One could exclaim, under these circumstances, with distracted Macbeth: "There is nor flying hence nor tarrying here." I hurried to the street called Parque del Conde, and closed with the arriero Vincente Lopez. I was to have a horse to ride and a mule to transport my trunk, each animal to cost \$20 for the trip; all personal expenses besides to be defrayed along the way, which makes the 300 miles come higher, as will be seen, than so much railroad travel. Vincente Lopez came in due season to the hotel to collect the baggage, and be paid the full amount of his charge in advance. He was a plausible person, but there seemed to me objections to this last proceeding. I thought it equitable that one-half should be paid on the spot, and the remainder on the safe completion of the journey. Vincente Lopez admitted that it was equitable so far as other arrieros were concerned, but for a person of his peculiar probity, who was in the habit of watching over his clients with a tender solicitude which he meant in the present instance to increase, and who had never known what it was to have an annoyance or delay, he was deeply wounded. There were arguments in his favor. He said that the Colonel had paid in full, as was indeed the case. Whatever money was carried must be in the heavy silver coin of the country, sixteen dollars to a pound, since there are no bank notes and no possibility of cashing drafts along the way; and it would be a relief to be rid, so far as possible, of its weight and jingling in the pockets. Still, by the advice of the clerk of the Iturbide Hotel, a contract was drawn upon this general basis; and cruel as it was at the time to be thus formal with so good a man, the small sum reserved proved the means later on of partially checking serious aggressions against the safety of the expedition.

My Colonel was accompanied down to Cuernavaca in the *diligencia*—in which we were all extremely jolted, dusty, and uncomfortable to-

gether—by two generals. They had apparently come to give him parting directions upon his mission. One of them, a thick-set, black-bearded man, with a husky voice, had a conspicuous scar upon his face. I must not branch off into too many side issues, but the history of it was this: While commanding in Yucatan, he had ordered to be shot, on some of the ordinary revolutionary pretences, a member of the powerful family of Gutierrez Estrada, which had commercial houses at Paris, Mexico, and Merida—a family noted among other things for the beauty and intelligence of its women. A brother of the victim came over from Paris as an avenger, sought out the executioner, met him in a duel, and left upon him this mark, which, at the time of its infliction, brought the recipient almost to death's door. The city of Mexico is some 7,500 feet above the level of the sea, and the way to the sea is one vast downward slope. It abounds in bold points of view, from which the prospect is spread faint as a vision at a vast distance below. Cuernavaca is one of the most thrilling of these prospects. What is yonder singular detail in the valley, as we go down to it? A hacienda set in the open side of a small extinct volcanic crater, of which it has brought the whole interior under smiling cultivation. And yonder yellowish spot? The sugar-cane field of the Duke of Monteleone. He is an Italian nobleman, resident in his own country, who inherits, by right of descent from Hernando Cortez, a part of the estates which were chosen here for himself by the Conqueror after the termination of his labors. There is nowhere a quainter group of old rococo churches than that to be found in the solid little city. They have flying buttresses of two arches in width descending to the ground, domes and inlay in colored porcelain tiles; and they are all clustered into one, with tombs and a battlemented wall about them. A student of architecture coming this way with his sketch-book in his hand (I am not sure that the trip could not be made enjoyably, as it certainly could economically, on foot, with an attendant to carry a knapsack, after the manner in which we later met some German naturalists and prospectors for ore making it) could find material for a month; and Mexico is full of such. Close by is a garden on a great scale, the Jardin Borda, to which one obtains admittance for a fee. It has a stone fishpond like a lake, terraces, urns, and statues, and is worthy of the most luxurious prince of Europe, yet I was told that it could be bought for \$5,000. I asked the custodian if the owner was remarkable for anything in his country. He replied that he was remarkable for *altos pesos*, which is Spanish for saying a big pile of money. From its outer terrace you look down into the barranca which Alvarado so brilliantly crossed when sent by his indefatigable general to quell a rising of the disaffected Gonzalo Pizarro. Here are guavas, the delicious mango (which is like peach, pear, melon, and pine-apple combined), bananas, and plenty of other tropical fruits, but not the cocoanut, which only grows lower yet in Tierra Caliente.

But now behold us ready to start. Vincente Lopez, strange to state, is not present to extend to us the fostering care he has promised. He has sold out his contract, and quietly gone back to the street of Parque del Conde with his profits. We are in the hands of a new muleteer, one Marcos, who has never made the journey to Acapulco before, and a fourteen-year-old boy, Vincente, who has made it, and is to be depended upon to find out the way. Every cavalcade in Mexico is bizarre, and ours, ordinary enough there, would attract attention elsewhere. First rides the Colonel, a tall, spare man in military boots, a wide hat with silver braid, and a linen blouse through which project the handles of his

revolvers, upon the dun mule Venado. He was not aiming at display, but comfort. Of my own aspect I need say nothing. It is a privilege the narrator has of letting it be supposed that it is always gallant, imposing, and adapted to the circumstances. I rode the rather large bay horse Pajaro. "Don" Marcos, as Vincente called him—a deprecating, tricky person, with a purpose, soon evident, of making up as far as possible his bad bargain—wore a crimson poncho with a hole for his head, and bestrode the small white horse Palomito (Little Dove). He thought good thus appreciatively to name the animals, though he had but come on the instant into possession of the whole outfit. The Colonel's trunks, sewn up in cocoa-mats, were securely tied with ropes upon the back of the mule Niña, and mine upon Aceituna. Vincente, the boy, ran barefoot most of the way to Acapulco behind the mules, crying, "Eh! machos!" and cracking them with a combination whip and blinder, with which they were blindfolded four times a day, when their loads were being put on and taken off.

There was a bit of wagon-road at first, as there is outside of each of the more important small places along the way, soon merging in the trail, however, and this becoming wilder and wilder. The huts and hamlets were of cane well thatched. There were fields of cane, trains of mules laden with sugar-loaves, and an occasional great, stately-looking sugar hacienda—now and then, one ruined in the wars. At noon the mules were unpacked at some favorable point, and the expedition rested several hours for a siesta during the extreme heat of the day. At night there were occasional *mesons*, or rude inns, but generally our stopping-places were the accommodations offered by the inhabitants of the villages to travellers along their trail. The baggage was piled under a thatched pavilion. Beds, consisting of a mat of stiff canes resting upon a couple of trestles, were arranged for us alongside or in the open piazzas. It has a rude sound, but these in the warm nights were by no means disagreeable. *A la guerre comme à la guerre!* Sleeping thus almost under the *belle étoile*, one looked out at the constellations and the outlines of strange, dark hills, heard the dogs bark (and enjoyed the more the novelty of his situation) down at remote Sacocoyuca, Rincon, and Dos Arroyos. At the gray of dawn we were off. The people, all of the Aztec blood, were gentle with us, honest, and not much less comfortable in their circumstances than farmers might be, say, newly established in the West. The promised difficulties of the undertaking, as they were encountered, largely melted away. It rained chiefly at night; there were but one or two showers in the daytime, though one of these was a very hard one. In Mexico, as in California, the rainy season means that in which rain falls, while in the dry season there is none. The food obtained along the way was of a rustic quality, occasionally scanty, but often excellent. Chickens were generally to be had; fried bananas were the most frequent vegetable accompaniment. The national dish of frijoles (black beans) was always palatable. There was milk in the morning, but not at night, the cows being milked but once a day. We foraged more or less ourselves. The Colonel demanded a couple of eggs under the off-hand formula of *un par de blanquillos*, which cannot be translated, but is much as if one should say, "A pair of little white'uns." He declared it "a miserable population" if they were not to be had.

On the very first day out Don Marcos came to say that he had no money with which to buy feed for the animals. It was with the reserve I had retained, doled out day by day, that this rather necessary purpose was accomplished, and

the arriero perhaps kept from leaving us in the lurch on the way. It was apropos of this incident that my first glimpse into the nature and inclinations of the Colonel was obtained. It was now evident that it would have been better not to pay the man in advance; but the Colonel refused either to regret that he had done so or to seem to regard it as a lesson for the future. "I am a philosopher," he said, "who makes little of annoyances." This philosophy he professed on other occasions also throughout the journey, and seemed, with a kind of bravado, almost to go in search of inconveniences. "But," I said, "philosophy is rather to avoid such troubles as one can by a moderate amount of forethought, and then to endure such as are inevitable without complaining." "No," he returned, "that is the civilian, not the military, point of view."

This trail of ours, though called in the country only a good road for birds to fly over, was travelled, neither better, and certainly no worse, than now, nearly a hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. It was the sole highway between Acapulco, the only really excellent port on the Pacific Coast, and the capital. It has seen the transit of many a convoy of treasure, slaves, silks, and spices from the Indies, part bound for old Spain. A regular galleon used to sail from Acapulco to supply the country with Oriental goods. It has seen the march of royalist troops, under the long reign of the sixty-four viceroys, and of wild insurgent bands. By one of the rivers still lies the massive cut stone-work for a bridge abandoned at the War of Independence seventy years ago. Most momentous of all the processions that passed it, however, were the forces of Iturbide, who returned along it with a new tri-colored flag, called of the Three Guarantees—viz., Religion, Union, and Independence—to overthrow the Spanish power in the capital and make himself briefly Emperor. This brilliant figure, who came to such an ignominious end, is still greatly honored in Mexico, and there is something rather typical of Mexico, or at least of Spanish America, in his history. Taking the position which would have been that of a Tory here, he fought against the earlier insurrection in his country from its outbreak in 1808 till 1820. Sent, however, in command of an army against the great rebel chief Guerrero in the latter year, he united with instead of overthrowing him, seized a convoy of treasure as sinews of war, and drew up, at Iguala—a charming little city on our route—a plan of independence of his own, which he thereupon proceeded to put into execution. The Viceroy, in despair, tried to buy him back with promises of pardon, money, and a higher command, but without success. He made a triumphal entry into the capital in September, 1821. In May of the following year a sedition, which he had without doubt artfully set on foot, roused him in his hotel at night with clamor that he should be Emperor. He appeared upon his balcony and affected to consent reluctantly to the popular will. I have lived some months in the curious large hotel which was occupied as his palace at this time. He modelled himself upon Napoleon, who was nearly his contemporary. There is a portrait of him in the National Palace in the gorgeous coronation robes affected by the latter, though his whiskered countenance more resembles that of the English Prince Regent of about the same date. In August he imprisoned deputies, and in October, still following the model named, put his troublesome Congress out of doors. But in October the country rose against him, and he was obliged to leave it and take refuge in England. He returned again in July the next year, like Napoleon from Elba; but

instead of sweeping the country with a new enthusiasm, like his distinguished prototype, he was seized instantly upon landing, and ordered to prepare for death within two hours. Four days were finally given him, and then he was shot.

Iturbide was a person of a highly politic turn, as is seen. He was a thorough devotee of expediency. He maintained (and there was not a little truth in this) that a people made up so largely of Indian serfs suddenly released from tyranny was not ready for self-government. He said that he meant the Empire to be only temporary. He showed no personal valor in the service of his country, as there had been no occasion for it; all his actual fighting being against it. Yet he is commemorated in the national anthem,* and a certain hold, in the Napoleonic way, which he must have upon the popular imagination, was relied upon by the French when they endeavored to establish Maximilian in Mexico. There is a grandson of Iturbide still living. Maximilian, in order to give his new dynasty a more traditional and indigenous aspect, adopted this boy and declared him the heir to the succession. The boy's mother, however, who at first acquiesced, repented later of her concession to the usurping order of things, and endeavored to get him away; and this was finally effected through the mediations of Secretary Seward and Mr. John Bigelow, who was then our Minister to France. W. H. B.

THE LATE GEORGE P. MARSH.

ATHENS, September 20, 1882.

THOSE of us Americans who have lived in the East, especially on the basin of the Eastern Mediterranean, during the last twenty-five years, will have heard more, and measured better, the personality of the late George P. Marsh than his countrymen at home. His public services are matter of public record. Those who have access to his despatches to the Department of State can tell better than I how he constantly studied whatever might be turned to the advantage of his country, and perhaps may read between the lines what he never made ostentation of—his love for it; an ardent, never-faltering, watchful devotion such as few public men have ever given their native land, and few governments have so poorly acknowledged and recompensed as ours. An Englishman, Mr. Marsh had been a peer, and long ago in the enjoyment of a pensioned leisure to follow up the studies in which he was the most widely distinguished American. That he had been a public servant, even ill-paid and hard-worked, to the loss of his country and his kind, so many years, is due, not to any element of good in our wretched diplomatic service, or any good sense or sound policy in our Government, but, as is well known, to the tenacity and fidelity of his relative, Senator Edmunds. I remember his writing me, at Lincoln's second election, when the usual scramble for offices was to begin: "I hear the cheep of the axe which shall lop my official head from my shoulders" (I quote from memory), "and I should not regret my removal were it not that I have no other source of income left; and were I to return to America I should not know how to get a living."

It has been my fortune in a varied and adventurous life to make the acquaintance of many distinguished men, and of all I ever knew George P. Marsh was the noblest combination, *me judice*, of the noblest qualities which distinguish man—inflexible honesty, public and private; the most intelligent and purest patriotism; ideality of the highest as to his service in his official career; generosity and self-sacrifice in his personal relations; quick and liberal appreciation of all good in others, and the most singular modesty in all

* "Si á lo lid contra hueste enemiga Nos convoca la trompa guerrera, De Iturbide la sacra bandera, Mexicanos valientes, seguid!"

that concerned himself; unfaltering adherence to truth at any cost; an adamant recognition of duty which knew no deflection from personal motive; and, binding the whole in the noblest and truest of lives, a sincere religious temperament, in which the extreme of liberality to others was united to the profoundest humility as to himself. A man on whom his country or his countrymen might repose any trust, or impose any worthy service, and whose modesty alone prevented him from acquiring the highest honors human intellect can win, all that the great Republic, the richest country in the world (the only one at least rich enough to pay its debts), could do with him was to keep him in second and third-rate legations, wearing out his life in the futilities of a diplomacy which has neither value nor meaning, and the anxieties of an insecurity of position which no intelligent merchant's clerk in one of our great cities is liable to. A diplomatic service which has had drunkards and gamblers in its highest positions; whose tenure of office is regulated by the claims of bar-room politicians and the recompenses due to electoral frauds and corruption; which dismisses a Motley and menaces a Lowell because they are too well bred to suit the tastes of our average politician, or because they are not pleasing to the lowest dregs of the cosmopolitan populace of our States, may be proud of having retained even unwillingly such a man as Mr. Marsh in its service so many years. But to me it seems a wilful waste of what in America we have a woful want of: the culture of which he was one of the highest results. What any man could do to increase the respect of the representatives or individuals of other nations for the United States he did. I knew no European who had met him who had not a higher esteem of our country from having known him. I have often heard European men of letters speak of him as a splendid result of American institutions—which perhaps in one sense he was—and an example of the sagacity of our Government, which he certainly was not. As with Lowell at present, his place was continually fought for by all the Greeks and Trojans of our politics, and it was due purely to influences which, unfortunately, are rarely present in our politics, that in the one case, as in the other, the better man kept the place.

It was my misfortune to spend eight years of my life in the consular service of the United States. From the first post, that at Rome, I was removed to silence my remonstrances against the disgraceful state of our legation there; and, after our usual shopkeeping system, I was sent to a distant station at my own expense, after having been financially ruined by my official countrymen at Rome. Mr. Marsh was then Minister at Florence, at which place I was stopped by the cholera blockade which almost suspended travel in the Levant, and when he learned that I had exhausted my means and was stranded without resources, he came to my hotel in the quietest manner and insisted on my accepting a thousand francs. I did not know then, what I learned afterward, that he had to restrict himself to give me the money, and though it was six years before I could pay the last instalment of the loan, he never made an allusion to it. Nor am I the only American who has been benefited by his unostentatious benevolence; and I fear that in all cases his confidence was not even as well justified as in mine. His generosity was only limited by his means.

Mr. Marsh could never have been a popular man, except among students. His high, unbending sense of justice; his aversion to and contempt for anything that savored of duplicity, disingenuousness, partiality, or favoritism; his intolerance of anything that resembled corruption, unfitted him for American politics, while

the same justice in personal matters, coupled with a singular want of egoistic ambition and rare humility, seemed to prevent that display of personal preferences which contributes so largely to the creation of individual enthusiasm. If anybody loved him, it was for the sake of the truth and the justice he himself so revered; he was so broad in his humanities, so uncompromising in his judgments on his own failings, so free from vanity of any kind, or ostentation, that he seemed almost impersonal. He seemed to me to shrink from anything that looked like personal admiration with the sensitiveness of a pure and modest woman, and in his relations with his surroundings he was as tender, as loving as any woman, and all his experience in the world had not in the least affected the unworldliness of his nature or diminished his intense enthusiasm for pure and wild nature. He loved children, the Alps, the glaciers, the woods and fields and trees, with an untiring devotion, and the only complaint I remember his making of his own losses and decay was of his being unable to climb as he used to do; and, indeed, his only failing in power was physical, for to the very last his mind seemed endued with an immortal childhood; his speech became indistinct, but only as all his physical forces yielded. His attention never flagged, nor his appreciation of passing events.

There were some questions of Eastern politics in regard to which I differed from Mr. Marsh, and on which I still feel disposed to maintain my own views; but I never differed from him without feeling that I was more likely to be wrong than he, and being disposed to review my opinions. The most serious of these differences was on a personal question relating to the late J. P. Brown, dragoman and Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, to whom Mr. Marsh was much attached and whom he greatly respected. My own experience was contrary to Mr. Marsh's, and I had attacked Brown with what I considered justifiable vigor, and in retaliation for open hostility to me in my official capacity as well as to the then representative of the United States of America at Constantinople, Mr. Morris, whom he attacked in the press. The end of the conflict was that Mr. Brown was deprived of the Secretaryship, though retained as dragoman, and soon after died. This was a great shock to Mr. Marsh, who felt it almost as a personal injustice, but it never seemed to affect our friendly relations. He accepted even what he believed injustice without resentment, and he probably gave me credit for intending justly. He expressed his pain in one of his letters of the time, but not one word showed that he held me culpable in the matter. He held the opinions of those who differed from him in such respect that any unfairness of discussion was impossible, and I venture to say that no one could, even in small matters, differ from him without regretting the difference and wishing to go over to his side.

So round and full was his character, so free from any one-sidedness or eccentricity, that it will require a long and complete review of what he was and did to enable the nation to realize how great a man it has lost, and then it will be seen that with all his intellectual greatness his moral dignity was greater still. I never visited him without going away ashamed of my moral shortcomings—he seemed to have none. W. J. S.

THE INFLUENCE OF JOHN BRIGHT.

LONDON, Sept. 30, 1882.

MR. BRIGHT has said of himself with truth, "I am not a statesman." It is not as a politician, not as a party leader, not as an administrator, that he ought to be judged. He has been the consistent preacher of political Quakerism. Critics who wish to understand the nature and

the value of the influence exerted in his generation by the Member for Birmingham ought to weigh both the worth of the doctrine which he has preached and the mode in which he has applied it. With Mr. Bright's political sermons, as with other sermons, the important thing is to understand the text, and still more the preacher's application thereof. The basis of political Quakerism is twofold: it rests on a combination of religious convictions and of economical doctrines. It is, at any rate as it appears in Mr. Bright's exposition of it, a union or reconciliation of the morality of the New Testament with the economical dogmas of Adam Smith. The advantages of peace; the necessity of doing justice to all men; the absolute and universal truth of free-trade dogmas; the wastefulness, no less than the sinfulness, of war; the folly and the iniquity of intervention in the affairs of our neighbors—views, in short, which are half religious and half economical—are, in Mr. Bright's teaching and in Mr. Bright's own mind, so mixed or blended that they can hardly be separated from each other. He has rarely, if ever, realized the possibility of conflict between his economical and his religious faith, and a good deal of his influence has been due to the perfectly honest, if not quite satisfactory, combination in his thoughts, speeches, and policy of two different classes of conceptions. His economical convictions have given an air of solidity and of common sense to views in the main dictated by religious sentiment, while the moral fervor and impressiveness of his oratory have been in the main due to the intensity of moral feeling.

That Mr. Bright's economical beliefs have played a considerable part in moulding his political course, he would be the last man to deny. They have preserved him entirely from all the various delusions which, under one form or another, connect themselves with socialism; and they have also, it must be added, kept him entirely out of sympathy with every kind of democratic movement which had the least tinge of communism. But it may be suspected that Mr. Bright's early connection with free trade and his position as a manufacturer have led him, no less than his opponents or his admirers, to overrate the influence of economical views on his general political convictions. At bottom, he is a man influenced far more by sentiment than by intellectual convictions. He is much more of a Quaker than of an economist. The theoretical objections to the commercial treaty with France, the grave criticism to which both the Irish Land Acts were, from a purely economical point of view, obviously open, never affected Mr. Bright's judgment or course of conduct. Mr. Cobden's commercial diplomacy appeared likely to secure peace. Mr. Gladstone's Land Acts promised to mitigate Irish discontent. To attain these moral results, Mr. Bright was prepared, whether wisely or not, to throw economical dogmas to the winds. Mr. Bright's political Quakerism is, therefore, though colored by his economical creed, mainly to be considered as a moral doctrine, or rather as an attempt to apply a certain view of morality to national life. If you take Quakerism (as Mr. Bright no doubt would take it) to be a fair representation of Christianity, Mr. Bright's teaching is in reality an endeavor to apply Christianity to political, and especially to international, transactions.

Of the speculative defects of Mr. Bright's doctrine this is not the place to speak at length. Two difficulties immediately present themselves to the minds of any one who considers fairly whether it be possible to conduct political affairs on the principles of Quakerism. It is, in the first place, a bold assumption to take for granted that a view of Christianity held by a small and diminishing sect—a view radically opposed to

the historical development of the Church—is the true representation of Christianity, or, what is politically of almost equal consequence, that it will ever be admitted to be the true representation of Christianity by the majority of the Christian world. It is, in the second place, questionable whether the religious principles enunciated in the New Testament, and meant for the guidance of individuals, can be directly applied to the affairs of states. The existence of the Roman Empire made it absolutely impossible that any early Christian should have considered what was the relation between Christianity and international—we may almost say political—transactions. Add to this that the political life of the world has, as a matter of fact, been based upon a complex combination of feelings, beliefs, or ideas which, if partly due to Christianity, are also due in great part either to heathen or to Jewish influences. A consistent Quaker must condemn both war and capital punishment. He must doubt the morality of institutions based in effect on warfare. His theories seem applicable only to a state which has neither army nor police. Such a state, we all know, could not exist for a week. No doubt even the most sincere Quakers in some way or other modify their theories so as to make them compatible with the necessities of life. To do this is, however, to concede that Quakerism cannot form anything like an adequate code for the guidance of political action. It were futile to dwell on matters which must have occupied the attention of every defender or critic of Quakerism since the days of George Fox. The reason for here noting rather than discussing the impossibility of applying Quaker doctrine to public life is, that this inherent difficulty has in more respects than one injuriously affected the teaching and the influence of John Bright. He has, like every leader of men, been forced to deal with actual facts. His religious theory has been found incapable of consistent application to the facts with which he had to deal. Hence he has more than once been forced to take up an attitude which even to himself can hardly have appeared satisfactory. All through Mr. Bright's attack on the policy of the Crimean War, every one must have felt that the great orator never made it quite clear whether he objected to all war, or whether his objection lay against the particular war which he denounced. He had, it may be conjectured, on this point never quite made up his own mind. It would be difficult, we believe, to find in his speeches a passage which absolutely condemns war in itself; his attitude throughout the War of Secession is hardly consistent with the belief on his part that every form of warfare is open to condemnation. But the latent feeling that all war is wrong has certainly made him a singularly unfair critic of all particular wars, and a very unjust judge of statesmen who, like Palmerston, felt no more scruple in using the Army in what they thought a legitimate cause than in employing the police to arrest a burglar.

To the natural dislike of a Quaker and an economist to anything which disturbs the peace of the world, may in great measure be attributed Mr. Bright's singular indifference (to use no stronger term) toward the efforts of Continental nations to secure liberty or independence. From the beginning of 1848 to the outbreak of the War of Secession, Mr. Bright was completely out of sympathy with the strongest and the most generous Liberal feeling of the time. He deplored the enthusiasm excited in England by Garibaldi; he did everything that he could to prevent England from giving any aid to the efforts of foreign patriots. Of the sympathy of Gladstone with the sufferings of the Neapolitan political prisoners, of Palmerston's wish to promote the free-

dom of Italy, of Lord Russell's interest in the independence of Poland, not a trace is to be found in John Bright. Nor can it be said that as regards foreign policy his feelings or convictions have changed with the advance of life. The Liberal denunciations of Lord Beaconsfield's sympathy with Turkey ought to have led to active efforts on behalf of the races suffering from Turkish oppression. Unless the public are greatly mistaken, Mr. Bright did as much as any man to prevent any use of English power which might involve England in war, even if the war were a war against the Turk. Mr. Bright's teaching has undoubtedly tended to encourage the feeling that England is absolutely irresponsible for any oppression which takes place in foreign and distant countries. His zeal for peace has more than once stimulated national selfishness.

Nor have the evils resulting from the errors or incompleteness of Mr. Bright's political and religious creed been limited to the practical results of his teaching. He has, though quite unintentionally, contributed to produce a state of feeling not consistent with what may fairly be called national honesty. He has not converted Englishmen to Quakerism, but he has so far moulded public opinion as to make large bodies of Englishmen think that any policy is wrong which is avowedly based on the promotion of English interests. If the result of this feeling were solely to encourage a high, even if somewhat overwrought, feeling of the obligation lying upon England to respect the interests of other states, no special harm would be done. Unfortunately, the nominal acceptance of a creed in which a convert only half believes, produces a kind of humbug which tends toward hypocrisy. Mr. Bright himself is not responsible for English intervention in the affairs of Egypt, but his influence is, to a certain extent, responsible for the very unsatisfactory and unreal defences put forward on behalf of a policy which can hardly be defended in accordance with the doctrines taught by Mr. Bright. When we are told that the bombardment of Alexandria was an act of self-defence; that it is the duty of England to improve the position of the fellah; that the country is acting with absolute honesty, and the like—we may legitimately regret that acts defensible enough on ordinary political grounds should, under the influence of Mr. Bright's teaching, be excused by most untenable or dishonest apologies.

Mr. Bright's teaching has its weak side, which it were mere flattery for any admirer to keep out of sight. But it were the grossest injustice toward a great teacher to deny that he has, by his acts no less than by his words, produced a most beneficial effect on the tone of English politics. He has, in combination with Mr. Cobden, transformed the whole character of political agitation. Orator Hunt, Sir Francis Burdett, Feargus O'Connor—even, be it said with all respect, Lord Brougham—were agitators who could not divest themselves of the character of demagogues. Something the same may, in spite of O'Connell's transcendent genius and (from an Irish point of view) indisputable patriotism, be said of the hero of Catholic Emancipation. Whatever can be alleged against John Bright, no one who has an eye for facts can fairly allege that the great democratic orator has been a flatterer of the people. He has again and again displayed the noblest trait of Quakerism—namely, the power to stand up on behalf of the dictates of his conscience against all but universal opposition. He ran counter to the whole vein of popular sentiment during the Crimean War, when to be a friend of Russia was held almost equivalent to being a traitor to England. He denounced real or supposed injustice to China

when the whole country, and especially the mercantile classes, were prepared to rally round Palmerston as the vindicator of English prestige. He demanded justice for Hindoos when all England was still trembling with indignation at reported Sepoy atrocities. He agitated for the admission of the people to representation at a moment when to appeal to the spirit of reform was (to employ an expression attributed to Mr. Bright himself) like "flogging a dead horse." He resisted the whole sentiment of the well-to-do and influential classes by denouncing the attempt to form a republic based on slavery. He did this, it must be remembered, without any very general popular support, without any encouragement, to say the least, from men like Gladstone, and (what must have been harder still for Mr. Bright to bear) without any energetic sympathy from Cobden. In many of these instances Mr. Bright is now admitted to have been as far-seeing as he was bold. But the point to remark is not the correctness of his judgment, but the moral independence of his action, and the new color given by him to popular agitation through the proof which his own acts afforded that a man may advocate the cause, without flattering the prejudices or passions, of the masses.

If Mr. Bright has raised the tone of politics by separating democratic agitation from the vices generally displayed by demagogues, this is not the only service, great though it be, which he has rendered to his country. His life-long labors have increased, if they have not created, a new sense of responsibility not only as regards peace and war, but as regards every matter connected with the treatment of foreign nations or the government of countries which are, in any sense whatever, dependencies. The eloquence and energy of Mr. Gladstone gave force, point, and effect to the reprobation with which the electors of Great Britain regarded the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. But Mr. Gladstone's harangues would have fallen flat if the opinions of his audiences had not for years been moulded by the moral teaching of Mr. Bright. This is not the occasion to examine how far Mr. Bright or Mr. Gladstone took a fair view of Lord Beaconsfield's policy or (what is of far more consequence) of that Palmerstonian policy of which Lord Beaconsfield's acts were the parody rather than the imitation. The point to be noticed is, not that Mr. Bright's judgment was correct, but that his preaching had created among the English people a perfectly new sensitiveness as to the moral guilt of any wars which could not be justified by palpable necessity. The peace with the Boers marked the prevalence of sentiments among Englishmen which in 1853 had hardly been brought into existence. No political act (unless it be the settlement of the *Alabama* claims by peaceful arbitration) is such a testimony to the effect produced by Mr. Bright's life and work as the convention which followed the victory of the Boers.

If any one wishes to measure the influence of Mr. Bright in matters which do not concern peace and war, he can take no better criterion than the attitude of the English people toward Ireland. The disestablishment, indeed, of the Irish Church, though facilitated by the authority of the Member for Birmingham among the people, can hardly in any direct way be ascribed to his action. But on two points he has assuredly effected something like a transformation of English opinion. He has convinced the electorate that the English land laws cannot justly be applied to Ireland. He has made the English people, for the first time in history, listen with patience to Irish grievances under circumstances which, not thirty years ago, would have rendered it impossible for Irish demands to obtain fair

discussion or attention. To say this is not to allege that on matters of Irish policy Mr. Bright's ideas or influence have been wholly beneficial. He has never shown sufficient desire to support the law by the whole force, if necessary, of the state. The Coercion Act, which either has expired or is about to expire, was an attempt, and, we may now add, a futile attempt, to substitute humane despotism for legal sternness. But the undoubted benefit which Mr. Bright's teaching has conferred in England is to create or evoke a new spirit of patience. Whether the singular calmness which, on the whole, has for the last two years characterized English popular sentiment with regard to Ireland will endure, is a matter on which no one would wish to pronounce a confident opinion. But that the attitude of the nation on the news of the assassination of Lord Cavendish and of Mr. Burke was so utterly unlike the condition of violent passion excited by the no doubt infinitely greater horrors of the Sepoy Mutiny, is a singular tribute to the effect of unceasing protests in favor of humanity and of justice.

Mr. Bright's statesmanship will, we suspect, command in future times but very qualified admiration. His religious—which is with him the same thing as his political—creed is open to speculative objections, and the attempt to make it the guide of national conduct has led, and must lead, to several unsatisfactory results. But candid critics will, when party contests have become matters of the past, admit that Mr. Bright has labored after his lights to import the spirit of morality, of justice, and of humanity into politics, and that few preachers have more effectively taught to their generation the lesson which it was their mission to preach.

A. V. DICEY.

Correspondence.

A FALSE NEWS ITEM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of August 3, 1882, I have observed the following, under the heading "Summary of the Week's News":

"There is great mortality in Alaska from a plague—a combination of scarlet fever and measles. Commander Pearson, of the U. S. S. *Wachusett*, is severely censured for taking both surgeons away from Sitka and leaving no medicine."

Coming from such a paper as the *Nation*, one would certainly conclude that the administration of Commander Pearson in Alaska is censured; that his action in this case at Sitka was inhuman. To correct the impression which your notice gives, and to show that the letter from Alaska, which no doubt is your authority, did not state the facts as they were, I beg leave to submit the following, showing that Commander Pearson did all that could be demanded of him, and that his action could not be censured.

The *Wachusett* arrived at Sitka on July 17, and found that there had been much sickness in the place, and, as you state, great mortality. One surgeon was at once directed to investigate the disease, and to prescribe for the sick. The *Wachusett* was placed in quarantine, not wishing to get measles aboard. On the 23d of July we had coaled and were ready for sea, but before deciding to sail, Commander Pearson again directed the medical officer to examine the condition of affairs ashore, and report whether or not it was necessary to leave a medical officer at Sitka in event of our going to sea. The senior medical officer reported that the epidemic had subsided; there were no new cases. The sick had been seen, and prescribed for, and medicines

and directions left for their use, so that it was not necessary to leave a medical officer at Sitka. The sincerity of this report could be appreciated by knowing the devotion of the medical officers of this ship to the sick of Alaska; and it proved correct, inasmuch as the sickness entirely disappeared. There being no business to detain the *Wachusett* at Sitka, she sailed on the 27th for Wrangel.

In conclusion, I would state that what I presume to be your authority for stating that "Commander Pearson is censured," was a letter written by parties in Sitka who seem to be desirous of making themselves disagreeable to Naval authority in Alaska.

If the above could have a place in your valuable paper, the wrong impressions concerning Commander Pearson might be corrected.

Very respectfully,

A. C. DELLINGHAM,
Lieutenant U. S. N.

U. S. S. *Wachusett*, 3d RATE, OFF FORT WRANGEL,
ALASKA TERRITORY, Sept. 7, 1882.

THE FREE PLAY OF ECONOMIC FORCES. TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I read, in your review of Jevons's 'State in Relation to Labor': "Under the unrestricted play of economic forces the worst possible, not the best possible, form of industrial society comes to exist. The moral tone imparted to it is that of the worst, and not of the best, competing elements." This strikes me as "strong doctrine." I do not care to enter into any discussion of the illustration by which you enforce it, or the views of state interference which you bring forward. I strongly dissent from them; but I know that they are in fashion. I cannot, however, resist the temptation to call upon you to reconsider the doctrine of the lines which I have quoted, and let us know whether it is the sober conviction of the *Nation* that that doctrine is true. I have heard it said that some people believe that the free operation of economic forces produces the ideally best form of industrial society, and that others believe that the same force produces the best form of society which is possible under the existing conditions. Cobden held something approaching to the latter doctrine, but never formulated it, to my present recollection. There used to be a school of us who held that the free play of economic forces would produce (to judge from all experience) a better form of industrial society than could ever be produced by laws and boards of state inspectors. We held this, not as an "absolute principle," but as a maxim of expediency. I do not know how many of that school are still left. When Jevons could write such a farrago of loose thinking as appears in the book referred to, we may well doubt of others. I am, however, for one, still firm in the old faith, my education in which I owed, in no slight degree, in my younger days, to the *Nation*. The doctrine that industrial society would, under the free play of economic forces, run down to the worst possible form, is entirely new to me. It is an "absolute principle," far transcending in its scope any absolute principle which I have heretofore met with in social science. I should like respectfully to inquire whether the *Nation* has adopted it, and means to teach it to the persons who trust that journal to do their thinking for them. If so, I think that we are entitled to a very careful elucidation of the doctrine.

Yours very truly,

W. G. SUMNER.

NEW HAVEN, Sept. 30, 1882.

[The doctrine is doubtless strongly expressed, but it is nevertheless true that the unre-

stricted play of economic forces has, wherever tried, produced a bad form of industrial society, if not the worst possible. It has never been completely tried anywhere, but it has been more fully tried in England than elsewhere, and there produced results which compelled state interference through a considerable number of regulating acts. Moreover, some of the best specimens of industrial society on a small scale owe their goodness, not to the free play of economic forces, but to the interference wrought by the benevolence of employers. We are not aware that the *Nation* has ever anywhere absolutely opposed state interference. On the contrary, it has always treated the proper limits of the province of government, on the rule of J. S. Mill, as a line of expediency. It could not maintain this and maintain also that industrial activity should always, under all circumstances, be let alone. But we concede that to say that "the worst possible form of industrial society comes to exist under the free play of economic forces," is going too far, because nobody has seen the worst possible form, or knows what it is. The worst form we know of is slavery, but that cannot be called the product of a free play of economic forces. It is rather the result of the free play of military force. In the last analysis, it may be said to rest on the ability of the employer to give the laborer a good thrashing whenever he asks for wages.—ED. NATION.]

THE NEW YORK CITY REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a conversation on politics, I made the assertion that only a comparatively small number of the Republican voters of New York City had a voice in the primary meetings. Am I right? Could you give a short article on the subject?

A CONSTANT READER OF THE NATION.

KEENE, N. H.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit an old reader to remark that he has read what you have published from time to time concerning the non-representation of the great mass of New York City Republicans in the primaries. What I do not understand is the origin and history of this state of things, and the constitutions and rules of the local societies by which the control of New York City Republican politics is kept in the hands of a small number of men—say, five or six thousand. It has occurred to me that two or three elaborate articles on the general topic at this time would be of public service. Certainly, they would add greatly to my stock of information.

Respectfully,

OLD READER.

CLEVELAND, O., Oct. 6, 1882.

[We last published a very full account of the matter in the *Nation* of December 4, 1879, in an article entitled "New York Primaries Described by a Worker," based on a letter written to Mr. Arthur by one of the local "workers," Mr. George Bliss, who, though by no means a political Puritan himself, was, or professed to be, shocked by the state of things at that date. There is no reason to suppose that it has improved since then, and much for supposing that it has grown worse. His description showed

that the rolls of the twenty-four District Associations which elect the delegates to the nominating conventions contained 13,335 names, representing the 50,000 (now said to be 80,000) Republican voters of this city. Of these, however, he said fully one-half were the names of dead men, or of men who had removed or turned Democrats, and that not over 6,000 were entitled to be there. Why do more of the voters not join the Associations? it will be asked. First, because the existing members do not wish additions to their numbers. They are in control; in other words, they are the Machine. They elect the delegates who make the nominations, and it is their interest to confine this power to as small a number as possible. The hindrances to joining them on the part of respectable men are several. In the first place, the meetings are held at night, and in disagreeable localities, and the managers are rough and tricky, and quiet men of business dislike leaving their homes to contend with them, knowing that they will be cheated by preconceived arrangements, and fearing that they will be insulted and abused. In the second place, a pledge to support all nominations hereafter to be made is exacted as a condition of membership, which, of course, no self-respecting man will take. But, thirdly, supposing him to be willing to take it, and to be willing to incur all the discomfort and inconvenience of attending the meetings, other difficulties arise. According to Mr. Bliss, applicants for admission whose presence the Machine men do not desire are "directly rejected" without reason—admission being by election—but oftener "by a refusal to act on names presented by hanging them up in a committee which never reports." Obnoxious members, too, are got rid of or kept away from the meetings by "dropping" them from the rolls, by "expelling them on frivolous charges," or by sending them notice of meetings by postal-card two hours only before the hour named, and refusing admission to those who cannot show the card.

Why, then, it will be asked, do the respectable citizens not organize primaries of their own, and send up contesting delegations to the Convention? Because the Machine, headed by the Boss, has control of the Conventions, and supports its subordinates in the city, and would reject, as "irregular," delegates produced by a revolt of any kind. The system is thoroughly organized. It is nefarious in all its details, and is based on the assumption, which events have justified for the last twenty years, that the control of the Republican Convention secures the Republican vote, owing to the deep-seated Republican dread of the Democrats. This dread, in fact, furnishes a large band of rascals in this city with their whole stock in trade, and in many cases with their means of livelihood.—ED. NATION.]

A RITUALISTIC VIEW OF THE LATE DR. PUSEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me a few words regarding your editorial in the *Nation* of September 21. It seems to me to give a wrong impression in several particulars about Dr. Pusey and the great

work in the Church of England for which he did so much.

I venture to assert that there are few scholars capable of judging of the merits of such works as 'Lectures on the Prophecy of Daniel,' 'Commentaries on the Minor Prophets,' the last great work on 'Eternal Punishment,' and others, who will agree with you that "Dr. Pusey's scholarship in Hebrew was mediocre." Whatever opinions there may be about his religious teaching, there appears to be but one among scholars in this—that one of the greatest of their number has gone to his rest. This is what Newman said of him: "I used to call him *ὁ μέγας*. His great learning, his immense diligence, his scholar-like mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion, overcame me."

Again, Pusey never founded a "sect." It would have been a sin of the gravest character for a man of his belief to do so. "He remained," as you say, "in the English Church." Neither did he proclaim a "new doctrine." He and his few earnest companions showed that the Church of England is Divine in its origin, Apostolic and Catholic. They sought to revive, what was then so much needed, earnestness in the Christian life; to point out the neglected doctrines and practices of the Church, which were taught in the Bible, the Fathers, the Primitive Church, and the Prayer-Book of the Church of England. The last fifty years have shown the wonderful results of the Oxford movement. It has been, as the Archbishop of Canterbury acknowledges, a period of the greatest life in the Church of England. The restored churches, the many new ones built, the work of sisterhoods, weekly communions, and many other marks of true religion are living witnesses, to-day, of the greatness of the work begun by the humble Pusey and his associates. Such scholars as Liddon, such preachers as Knox-Little, and such martyrs as Green, now in Lancaster jail more than a year for being true to the Church and constitutional law, are the men that are now carrying on the work. It is before this school in the Church that the "new set of antagonists" and other foes of the Faith must fall.

As to confession, it seems no more a mark of "weakness" to make use of it, if one desires it, than for one to make known to a physician one's sickness in order to be cured.

Respectfully yours, W. H. TOMLINS.

RANTOUL, ILL., October 3, 1882.

[No Hebraist of distinction has said that Dr. Pusey was more than "mediocre." The best that has been said for him is, that the chair which he took when no clergyman in the Anglican Church knew any Hebrew did not decline in his hands. He did not found a "sect" in the technical sense, perhaps, but his followers were separated from the Evangelical wing by lines of dislike and distrust and disagreement as strong as those which separate the Church from any sect. About "the sin" of it we know nothing. Denying that he proclaimed a "new doctrine" is, we must be allowed to say, somewhat evasive. The denial can only be maintained by the plea that the Church of England existed in the third and fourth century, and that any doctrine then held is now old Anglican doctrine. But we cannot give our columns up to rattling the dry bones of a dead controversy.—ED. NATION.]

TRIAL BY JUDGE OR JURY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Edward A. Freeman, in a recent article in the *Fortnightly Review*, entitled

"Some Impressions of the United States," makes the following statement, which seems to require explanation:

"New devices, indeed, we sometimes light upon in the New World. When we look at a Maryland judge, who is authorized under certain circumstances to send men to the gallows without a jury, we are divided between wonder at the innovation and awe toward a being who can do what no being that we ever saw before can do."

The innovation in Maryland which creates wonder and awe in the mind of Mr. Freeman is a law which gives to every one accused of crime the right to elect whether he will be tried by a court or a jury, without excepting capital cases. It has in substance been in force ever since 1793, and is entirely satisfactory to the people of the State. It is very seldom that capital cases are submitted to the Court, although instances have occurred, but in none, so far as I know, has the Court found it necessary to pronounce sentence of death.

It is a noteworthy fact, however, that those accused of all other offences generally prefer the Court to a jury. I have before me a list of the trials which took place in the Criminal Court of Baltimore City from the 1st of January, 1880, to the 11th of September, 1882. They were in all 4,417. Of these, many were police cases, which are everywhere tried without a jury, but a large number were crimes of the grade of felony, which, according to the rules of the common law, could only be tried before a jury. In the trial of all these cases only 238 juries were sworn. This Court is presided over by a single judge, and during the last fifteen years the presiding judge has been changed three times, but throughout the entire period the trials by the Court of offences of every grade, less than capital, have greatly exceeded those by a jury. A very onerous, and often painful, duty is thus imposed on the Court, but it is easy to see that much is gained in saving expense as well as the time of all concerned in the trials. If it be right to give to the accused the privilege of election to be tried by the Court or a jury, there seems to be no sufficient reason to deprive him of it in a capital case.

The law of Maryland is at least worthy of consideration by those communities which do not permit any one accused of felony to be tried by the Court, but subject him against his will to the tedious, expensive, and uncertain trial by jury.

BALTIMORE, October 7, 1882.

SCHWERT ON LIGHT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the review of Mr. Wright's 'Light' (*Nation*, Sept. 14, 1882) is this sentence: "In this connection he quotes an experiment of Schwert's, but it happens that Schwert is one of the few names which we are unable to find in any list of physicists." The book from which the experiment was quoted is doubtless 'Die Beugungserscheinungen, aus den Fundamentalgesetzen der Undulationstheorie analytisch entwickelt,' by F. M. Schwert (Mannheim, 1835, 4to, 18 copperplates). It is referred to in Ganot's 'Physics,' quoted from frequently by Gehler, called by both Müller and Wüllner "a classical work." Daguin says: "We cite particularly Schwert"; and Billet speaks of him as "cet habile physicien." Surely, Mr. Wright could quote from no better authority.

Yours truly, CHARLES K. WEAD.

ANN ARBOR, MICH., Sept. 30, 1882.

Notes.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS offer at a very reasonable price a neat, uniform edition of the late George P. Marsh's principal works—viz., 'Lectures on the English Language,' first and second series, in two volumes, and 'The Earth as Modified by Human Action.' These works are of a class peculiarly available for self-culture, and are now brought within the reach of every one. No better examples of popularization exist.

Hallam's and May's respective Constitutional Histories of England, covering together the unbroken period from 1485 to 1870, have been handsomely republished in a new "Standard Edition" by A. C. Armstrong & Son, as a uniform series, consisting of four volumes 8vo.

The same firm reduce to the lowest terms the price of a complete uniform edition of the historical and border romances of William Gilmore Simms—seventeen volumes being compressed into ten, and the whole given a very presentable exterior for the library. Of this author it would be curious to learn how widespread is his present popularity in the section of which he was for so long almost the only man of letters. Darley's original illustrations of these novels have been retained.

Bulfinch's 'Age of Fable' having been reprinted till the plates were worn out, the publishers (Lee & Shepard) have wholly remade the book, with additions by the Rev. E. E. Hale, in the spirit of the original, and with a great number of illustrations. It still, at the end of nearly thirty years, holds its own as a clear and readable substitute for Lempriere and the more ponderous and learned classical dictionaries, to say nothing of its copious examples of the mythologic allusiveness of the best English poetry.

Walpole's 'Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland' has been added to the Franklin Square Library of the Messrs. Harper.

Three volumes of "facetiae" meet on our table. 'Billy Blew-Away's Alphabetical, Orthographical, and Philological Picture-Book' (Boston: Osgood) is a very moderately jocose assortment of white silhouettes on a blue ground. Owen Wister's 'The New Swiss Family Robinson' (Cambridge: C. W. Sever) hits the mark as a satire, but for sustained humor it suffers by comparison with Rollo's Cambridge adventures, that earlier trophy of the Harvard *Lampoon*. On the other hand, 'College Cuts' (White & Stokes), chosen from the *Columbia Spectator*, a college paper with a humorous corner or corners, compares well with the larger and more heterogeneous collection of designs from the *Lampoon*. There is more *chic* and a higher average quality in the drawing. Politics are altogether eschewed in favor of collegiate and social topics. The legends are noticeably good.

Mr. Howard Henderson's recent articles in the *American Field* are to be reissued as a book, under the title, 'Practical Hints on Camping,' with the imprint of Jansen, McClurg & Co. Camp photography is incidentally treated of.

White & Stokes announce a new and elegant edition of Fielding's works; an "aesthetic" edition in 16mo of Charlotte Brontë's poems; and 'The Artist's Year,' illustrated for every month by a design from a representative American artist, and a poem.

Harper & Bros. have issued 'Sterne,' by H. D. Traill, in the English Men of Letters Series; and 'Diddie, Dumps, and Tot,' by Mrs. Louise Clark Pyrnelle—a picture of slave-life in the South from a child's point of view.

Cassell & Co. have nearly ready 'The United States Art Directory and Year-Book,' prepared under the direction of Mr. S. R. Koehler, late editor of the *American Art Review*.

From a circular issued by Mr. Peter G. Thomson, of Cincinnati, publisher of Gen. J. D. Cox's 'Second Battle of Bull Run,' it appears that no unpleasantness exists, as has been alleged, between him and Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, on the ground of that volume's having been published in a style similar to that of the 'Campaigns of the Civil War.'

Forestry Bulletins Nos. 19, 20, and 21 of the Census Bureau, issued under the direction of Prof. C. S. Sargent, exhibit graphically in colored maps the timber conditions of the Pacific Coast proper. No. 18 tabulates the fuel value of the more important woods of the United States.

We have received the first number of the *American Journal of Forestry*, edited by Mr. Franklin B. Hough, Chief of Forestry Division, United States Department of Agriculture, and published at Cincinnati by Robert Clarke & Co., and a sixteen-page issue of the *Montreal Herald*, filled with the proceedings of the recent American Forestry Congress in that city.

The first number of the monthly *Decorator and Furnisher* (New York: E. W. Bullinger) promises and contains contributions by men of established reputation, but the form of this magazine is opposed to the best taste, and makes one doubt the authority of its directors.

Tributes to Darwin on this side of the water have not been wanting in number or heartiness. The latest that has fallen under our eye is Dr. Asa Gray's sympathetic "biographical notice," as it is called, in the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In a Washington paper we find brief but admiring mention of a lecture on 'The Demon of Darwin,' delivered at the National Medical College, by Dr. Elliott Coues, whose motive seems to have been to indicate what philosophy may be deduced from the Darwinian theory of evolution, with special reference to its bearing upon Platonism and its anti-materialistic tendency. "A dialogue between the disembodied spirits of Darwin and Socrates" formed a portion of the lecture, if that is the right name to bestow on the composition.

Apropos of Mr. Herbert Spencer's visit to this country, the Providence Library's *Monthly Reference Lists* for September has its customary bibliography concerning his philosophy. The second topic is Wordsworth's poetry.

Classes in the subjects required by the Harvard Examinations for Women, which are now identical with those for boys, have been established by the New York Local Committee at Nos. 21 and 23 West Thirty-second Street. The object is "to furnish experienced and responsible teachers, at the lowest possible cost to the student." The instructor in Latin and Greek is Dr. E. G. Sihler, late Johns Hopkins Fellow in Greek, and his charge will be proportional to the size of his class. "Earnest students, not preparing for the examinations, will be admitted to the Classical and Mathematical Courses."

The most promising movement yet made toward the founding of an educational journal worthy of the best culture of the country is announced in a circular issued by Mr. H. S. Ballou, 7 A Beacon Street, Boston. It will be called the *American Teacher*, and "will aim to discuss, in the light of philosophic principles, all questions of education," ranging from the kindergarten to the university. One department alone, if faithfully conducted, would be worth the whole cost of the experiment: we refer to the "critical reviews, by specialists, of school-books and works on education." We cannot reproduce here the list of eminent names embracing contributors and actual shareholders, nor the scheme by which a permanent fund is to be raised for the paper. The circular can be had on application to Mr. Ballou, as above.

—B. Westermann & Co. send us the first portion of an immense work undertaken by W. Spemann, of Stuttgart, under the editorial direction of Joseph Kürschner—'Deutsche National-Literatur.' In brief, this is a combination of general views of the whole course of German literature, with historical and critical editing of its chief monuments. Thus, the *Lieferung* before us contains (without completing it) Goethe's 'Faust,' preceded by an introduction giving an account of the "origins" of that drama, while the text itself is freely commented in foot-notes. Taking a hint, perhaps, from the publishers (Velhagen & Klasing) of Koenig's 'Deutsche Literatur-Geschichte' and Stacke's 'Deutsche Geschichte,' Spemann proposes to embellish usefully the present work with portraits and other illustrations in great variety. Accordingly, we have already facsimiles of a good-sized drawing by Goethe (in 1806) of his 'Faust' MS., and of the playbills for the first representations of 'Faust' at Brunswick and at Weimar. Finally, the index of names and subjects will be made a veritable literary lexicon by the insertion of explanatory notices, biographical data, etc., and will fill two volumes. On such a scale, at least, this last feature has no parallel. Spemann has carried as far as any one the union of good workmanship with cheapness, and he offers each instalment of the 'German National Literature' at about fourteen cents (to the home subscriber, of course). One or two will appear weekly for the space of three or four years, so that we may calculate that the whole work will cost, unbound, from forty to fifty dollars. The body print for the text is large enough; that for the editorial prefix is fine, but as little trying to the eyes as faultless presswork can make it.

—We have just received from the author a volume which is unique in more than one respect. Its title is 'Brynjólfur Sveinsson.' It was printed in Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, by Einar Thordarson, the leading publisher of that distant land, and composed by Mrs. Torfhildur Thorsteinsdóttir Holm, who resides in Selkirk West, Manitoba, Canada. It is a stout volume of 300 octavo pages, and is, on the one hand, the first historical novel ever written or published in the Icelandic language, and, on the other hand, the first novel ever written by an Icelandic woman. The scene of the story is in Iceland, in about the middle of the seventeenth century, Mrs. Holm having purposed to give a picture of Ultima Thule about the time when the epoch of modern researches in old Norse antiquities began. The hero of the novel is Brynjólfur Sveinsson, Bishop of Skalholt, who discovered the manuscript of the Elder Edda in the year 1643, and gave it the title of *Sæmundar Edda*, believing it to have been written by Sæmund the Wise (born 1056, died 1133), an opinion that has since been set aside. He was born, 1605, at a place called Holt, in western Iceland, and died as Bishop of Skalholt in 1674. He belongs to the brilliant galaxy of learned men whom Iceland produced in the seventeenth century, and among whom we find Arngrim Jonsson, the progenitor of the celebrated Vidalin family, and the so-called "restorer of Icelandic literature"; Thorlak Skulason, the translator of the Icelandic Bible; Ole Worm, the antiquarian and runologist; Björn Jonsson, the annalist; Thormod Torfason (Torfæus), the historian; Arne Magnússon, a remarkable collector of manuscripts, and founder of the Arne Magnæan Library in Copenhagen, and many others. As to the contents of Mrs. Holm's book, we may say that she writes her native tongue well, and that there is a charming simplicity in her narrative perfectly in keeping with the theme she has in hand. But the mere circumstances of its production and publication would entitle her book

to be entered among the curiosities of literature.

—Dr. Hans von Bülow, who wields a clever and sarcastic pen, wrote some letters to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Musik-Zeitung*, last spring, descriptive of his concert tour in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. These letters, which have been reissued in pamphlet form, deserve attention not only as one of the best existing accounts of the musical condition of the countries named, but also because of the side lights incidentally thrown on German music and musicians. Much space is devoted to Gade, the most prominent of the Northern composers. He is still of youthful appearance, although sixty-five years old. He was a pupil of Mendelssohn, but has made persistent efforts to introduce Liszt and Wagner to Copenhagen audiences; and his efforts were crowned with success because he went to work with the intention of securing success for them (a hit at some German conductors). Gade has also familiarized his countrymen with those monumental works, Bach's Passion music and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and he "has more sympathy for Berlioz's music than all the German conductors taken together." Bülow's manner of interpreting Beethoven with his Meiningen orchestra having been questioned by several German critics, he is delighted to find Gade in perfect accordance with his views. Among the players in the Royal orchestra of Copenhagen, he found artists of the first rank. The audiences were, in spite of their latitude, characterized by a "tropical warmth" and enthusiasm which he had not encountered elsewhere during twenty-five years of concertizing; and their taste was so good that he found he could dispense with the sensational pieces necessary elsewhere. This pleasant state of affairs he thinks is due to the large number of excellent musicians, and, negatively, to the subordinate position occupied by that "bastard-parasite," the opera; for Bülow is of opinion that "a healthy development of musical taste is rendered impossible, or at least is greatly obstructed, by an unhealthy condition of operatic affairs"—a statement which New Yorkers might reflect upon to advantage. During the last ten years Gade has written less than formerly, and his "novellettes" for orchestra, as well as his concerto for violin, have not received the attention they deserve. The same is true of the operas, cantatas, and ballets of the Nestor of Danish composers, Prof. J. Hartmann. Like the Russian Glinka, he is a national composer, and has never written anything that is trivial, thus proving Rubinstein's observation that "music is an aristocratic art." The excellent organist Lindemann travels through the country every summer, at the expense of the city of Stockholm, to complete his collection of Northern folk-songs. In regard to Stockholm audiences, too, Bülow found that "the best that could be offered them was just good enough for them." The two greatest nuisances he observed were the excessive pauper tax levied on amusements, and the fluctuations in the price of tickets. The pauper tax is no less than ten per cent. of the gross receipts, whereas in Paris it is only five per cent. Concert tickets cost three crowns on the day of the concert, four crowns a day in advance, and five two days in advance—a most paradoxical "anti-climax." Bülow is a great admirer of Brahms, and he thinks that a "rational Brahms cultus" introduced among a people so highly gifted would have immeasurable consequences. "After twelve years' study of the great master," he says, "I am somewhat in the same position as that which the painter Cornelius held toward Rome. Being asked by a German guest how much time was requisite to know thoroughly the Eternal City, he exclaimed impatiently: 'You will have to ask some one else; I have only been here twenty-five years.'"

—We expect new kings to be discovered on the bricks of Assyria, and the dynasties of Egypt are not quite definitely settled. It was only the other day that M. Miller introduced us to a hitherto unknown Queen of Cyprus, Demanassa. But who expected that an addition could be made to the royal house of France? Yet so it is. M. Charles Grellet-Balguerie, in a pamphlet called 'Deux Découvertes Historiques; Histoire de Clovis III., Nouveau Roi de France' (672 or 673 to 677), has given reasons for thinking that a young prince who was produced by the Mayor of the Palace, Ébroin, as son of Clotaire III. was really son of Dagobert III. of Austrasia, and should be styled Clovis III., so that the son of Thierry III. will become Clovis IV. It is, after all, a question rather of *hautes études* than of living interest, even less important than will be for posterity the names of the puppets whom Gambetta put forward when he hesitated to take the power which he lost so soon.

—In 1879 it was a favorite argument with the German protectionists that foreigners would be obliged to pay the customs duties; now, as we learn from the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* (a magazine not inclined to misrepresent in favor of the free-trade school), manufacturers themselves are clamoring for rebates on raw material imported with a view to export after being manufactured. The chief cause of this change of attitude has been the experience of the last two years regarding the effect on German mills of the duty on grain. Reports of failures from all parts of Germany show that this important industry is on the road to ruin. Rebates, indeed, were nominally allowed when it could be proved that the flour exported was made of grain which had been imported, and only of such grain, but the proof of identity was in most cases impossible. It was a general practice to mix foreign and domestic grain in grinding, and, for technical and economic reasons, the German mills are to a great extent forced to do so. Of course, when imported grain was mixed with domestic, no rebate whatever could be allowed. What was the effect expressed in figures? In 1879, 300,000 tons of flour and meal were exported; in 1880, 80,000 tons; and in 1881, 50,000 tons. Between 1875 and 1879 the industry of the flouring-mills had increased rapidly, and the quality of the work done had improved. The great mills on the North Sea and the Baltic being unable, as formerly, to export their products to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, attempted to dispose of them in Germany, the result being the excessive competition which has ruined so many mill-owners. This injury to the country has been so indisputable that when the Government brought in a bill doing away with the necessity of establishing the identity of the flour exported with the wheat imported, it was accepted in the Imperial Parliament without opposition. Now an exporter of flour is allowed a rebate in proportion to the grain he has imported, without being obliged to prove that the flour exported was manufactured out of the very same grain; but it will take a long time to repair the injury done to the milling industry in Germany. Large mills have been established in those countries which were formerly her best consumers of mill products, and have obtained possession of the market; for example, in Denmark, where Russian grain is ground and exported to England and Holland; in Holland itself, etc. As the prosperity of the farmers is largely dependent on the mills, they also begin to think that protection is not proving the boon to Germany which they hoped.

MOZLEY'S REMINISCENCES.—II.

Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. By the Rev. T. Mozley, M.A., formerly Fellow of Oriel, etc. 2 vols. London: Longmans; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

FROM 1836 to 1842 or 1843 (Mr. Mozley is always vague about dates) the Rector of Cholderton was occupied and oppressed by what might be called the chief work of his life. At infinite labor, cost, and anxiety he repaired or rebuilt Cholderton Church. He fell, he tells us, into his task almost involuntarily, and assuredly in total ignorance of the extent of the work in which he was engaged. "My visitors chaffed me on my church," and made invidious comparisons between it and the new rectory. "All the foolish things I had ever said about smug parsons and smug parsonages were now visited upon me. Something must be done, and when I had pupils I could not say I wanted the means. Moreover, the churches all about were in a bad state. I was there to set an example. I can honestly say it was not a spontaneous act." Having once begun his work, the Rector was, he adds, as wild as any other church restorer. He purchased a roof of a highly ornamental character, then lying for sale at Ipswich, but which probably had originally covered "the clerestory of some conventual church destroyed at the Reformation." The covering did not fit the building. "The roof fixed the proportions of the church. It was eighty feet long, and of course I could sacrifice nothing of it. Though we coaxed out of it a few inches more breadth, we could not get more than twenty feet six inches. What did I not sacrifice to this dumb idol?" The church had, in short, to be rebuilt to fit the roof. When the task was accomplished, the builder left his church and betook himself to writing articles for the *Times*.

Of all the details of Mr. Mozley's autobiography, none are more interesting to humane or sympathetic readers than the sort of tragi-comic story of the Rector and his church. It tells us more of the man than any other part of his book. The oddity of the thing, however, is that, as sometimes happens in life, an individual fact becomes a type of something more general than itself. As one reflects on Mr. Mozley's tale of Cholderton Church, the thought irresistibly suggests itself that the whole thing is a clever allegory, setting forth in a figure the history of the early Tractarian movement. It were hard to sum up the history of Newman and his friends better than by the statement that they tried to fit on the Church of England a roof of a highly ornamental character which had originally belonged to the church destroyed at the Reformation. They, too, like Mr. Mozley, felt keenly the contrast between the comfort of smug parsons supported by the state and the condition of the Church of which the parsons were supposed to be servants. With Newman and his friends, as with the restorer of Cholderton Church, the course they took could hardly be called a "spontaneous act." We can see, what neither Newman nor his opponents could be expected to see, that the Tractarian movement itself was a portion of a far wider reaction, and that the actors in it did little more than conscientiously follow out the path marked out for them by their position, their antecedents, and the circumstances of the time. They were undoubtedly as much surprised as their critics when they found "that the roof fixed the proportion of the Church." When their labors seemed all but crowned with success, the ablest of them retreated from the Church which they could not transform into "the Church destroyed by the Reformation." The puzzle for an historical student is to under-

stand the causes both of the great and rapid success of Tractarianism, combined with its total failure to produce that revolution in the Church of England and in the people of England which was doubtless more or less distinctly hoped for by the earlier Tractarians. To solve this enigma fully would be little less than both to record and explain the whole course of English religious opinion during at least half a century. There is not one man in ten thousand who has either the knowledge or the ability for the task, and assuredly the results of his labors could not be set forth in a newspaper article; but an intelligent study of Mr. Mozley's 'Reminiscences' enables a student to perceive what were some of the more obvious and external conditions which account for the rapid progress and for the complete failure (looked at as a whole) of a movement which ought, if successful, to have reunited the Church of England with the Church of Rome.

It is no disparagement to Newman to recognize the fact, which he certainly would be the last to deny, that his own talents and moral influence had probably rather less effect on the course of the Oxford movement than would be attributed to them either by fervent admirers or by strenuous opponents. It is hardly conceivable that if Newman had died young, or had, as it seems might have been the case, devoted his life to the politics of Hanover, the Anglican reaction would not have run its course. Mr. Mozley is perfectly right in asserting that "people who talk about the Oxford movement seldom say anything about the universal movement which immediately preceded it. In the year 1831 the whole fabric of English, and indeed of European, society was trembling to the foundations. Every party, every interest, political or religious, in this country was pushing its claims to universal acceptance, with the single exception of the Church of England, which was folding its robes to die with what dignity it could." Was it to be expected that the greatest, the most ancient, the most powerful association in the country should die without a struggle? To fancy that the Church would simply fold its robes to die, was to ignore both the teaching of history and the real condition not only of England, but of the European world. The eighteenth century, it has been well said, lasted in spirit till 1832; in other words, the reaction against the theories, political, moral, and religious, of which the eighteenth century is the representative had at that date excited a reaction of sentiment which became apparent to the whole world. John Mill was brought up outside the limits of the Christian world, but the autobiography of John Mill sufficiently proves to any candid observer the existence in 1832 of just that state of opinion which generates ecclesiastical movements such as the Tractarianism of England or the Ultramontanism of France. A Church, it may be added, like the Anglican communion, based on endless compromises between Catholicism and Protestantism—compromises which are the result neither of logic nor of religious conviction, but of historical and political considerations—is specially liable to become the field for the unexpected production of religious developments. An impressive preacher or thinker pushes to their logical conclusion one side of the Church's multifarious and not over-consistent doctrines. He means simply to give effect to the Church's true teaching. He, and still more his disciples, become without meaning it ecclesiastical revolutionists. Whitgift and Laud, Wesley, Simeon, Newman, and Arnold each and all believed themselves to be expounders of the true doctrines of the Church of England. They each, as far as their influence extended, disturbed the practical compromise which, if not exactly the

Church's true doctrine, is its true reason for existence.

If there were to be a High-Church revival, any one who knows England may confidently assert that Oxford was in 1832 its appropriate home. The truth is, that the English universities, and especially Oxford, are, whatever their defects or merits, created, so to speak, to be the centre of movements. There are at the universities collected teachers and thinkers who, despite the popular prejudice against dons or professors, are constantly men of great talent, of impressive character, and of that kind of disinterestedness which even more than cleverness or energy enlists the enthusiasm of youth. To any one who has realized how large is the amount of intellect, of learning, and even of originality which lies hid in the English universities, the true difficulty is to account, not for the extent of the influence exerted by Oxford or Cambridge, but for that influence not having become as marked, at least, as the weight exercised in modern Germany by the political and theological teaching of professors. For not only have there certainly never for the last fifty years, and probably for a much longer period, been lacking at Oxford teachers preëminently fitted to impress their hearers, but the college system, with its curious combination of freedom with discipline, of intimate association with individual independence, brings young men together in just such a manner as to render them specially sensitive to the authority of teachers who are, for the most part, still young enough not to be separated by great difference of age from the sympathies of their pupils. A sincere and enthusiastic believer in Mormonism, could such a person become the leading tutor, say, of New College, or Oriel, or of Balliol, would, one may feel well assured, soon organize a Mormon movement, and alarm respectable society by inducing hundreds of young men to set sail for Utah.

But if the institutions and traditions of Oxford favor the growth, up to a certain point, of almost any form of religious faith or scepticism, we must remember that fifty years ago Oxford was far better than at present suited to be the centre of a movement of which the inevitable result was to increase the influence of the clergy, and to bring into prominence clerical views of life, of policy, and of religion. The undergraduates were for the most part sons of clergymen; they were themselves, in many cases, destined to take orders. It is impossible to read Newman's 'Loss and Gain,' or, for that matter, Froude's 'Nemesis of Faith,' without seeing in each book the picture of a world where the questions which interest the clergy have a prominence, and even predominance, which they certainly do not possess in the larger sphere of the general life of England. Mr. Mozley even now looks back on the Oxford movement as a sort of golden age. Can any one wonder if every young clergyman throughout England felt a thrill of new life when called upon as a matter of duty to take part in a great cause, the success of which, by elevating his order, lent new dignity to his own existence? Early Evangelicalism had no such attraction for the clergy. The converted layman stood in the same position as the converted priest—or, rather, the priest was not a priest at all, but, on the Evangelical view, a preacher of the truth, and, as such, on the same footing as a dissenting minister who preached the same doctrine. The liberal or sceptical teaching of the Broad Church may, to a certain extent, lighten the burden of clerical subscription. It may teach clergymen that they have a moral and religious advantage in belonging to a State Church, but it does not tend to raise the dignity or the influence of the clerical order. High Church doctrine, on the other

hand, whatever its worth, both increases the dignity of the clergy and, in the mouth at any rate of teachers like Newman and Pusey, invites clergymen to play a prominent part in the moral, the religious, and even the political life of England. "Has not the Church," said Sterling, "in every parish its black dragoon?" There is no need to adopt the description suggested by the intemperate eloquence of the youthful orator, who was haranguing a debating society of youths; but persons who know that the "black dragoon" is generally an excellent gentleman engaged in the earnest discharge of hard and ill-paid duties, may nevertheless admit that Sterling laid his finger on a most important fact. In every parish there is a man who must, from the nature of things, be apt to adopt High Church doctrine. We may fairly say that in half the parishes of England the Tractarians found ready-made missionaries. The instruments for affecting public opinion lay ready to the hands of the Puseyite leaders. They used these instruments (and no blame to them for it) with the energy of men filled with confidence in themselves and in their cause. No one can wonder that the movement spread during its earlier years with astounding rapidity.

What, then, were the reasons which prevented Tractarianism from effecting something like a complete revolution in English opinion? The answers which Mr. Mozley's book suggests are none the less worth consideration because they lie, so to speak, on the surface of the whole matter. Newman and his friends owed their influence in great measure to the fact that they were to the very core a body of university teachers. They were clergymen and college tutors, and they had to a preëminent degree the defects no less than the virtues of priests and professors. Oxford was their world. There is something pathetic in the way in which Mr. Mozley, after his varied experience of life, still appears in feeling to look upon Oxford with something like the veneration with which an enthusiastic Catholic might regard Rome. Much the same is true of Cardinal Newman. Rome commands his reverence and allegiance, but it is impossible to read his 'Apologia' without seeing that toward the end no less than at the beginning of his career his heart remained at Oxford. This concentration of interest on the life of the University, if it increased the immediate authority, was fatal to the ultimate influence of early Tractarians. Mr. Mozley reveals the feeling (and we must add the gross ignorance) of himself no less than of his associates with regard to the world without. His language about Simeon, about Wilberforce, and about the Evangelicals generally, proves plainly that the rank and file of the High-Church army knew next to nothing of the spirit, or even of the lives, of the theological party to whom they were most directly opposed. The notices even of Arnold, who must have been well known to Mozley's Oriel friends, are almost ludicrous, from the absurdly false picture they give of an eminent religious teacher. It is absolutely impossible to suppose that Newman shared the ignorance of his disciple. Still, it is odd to find that if Mr. Mozley's statements be correct, Newman must have thought Thomas Paine to be a fair representative of modern infidelity. In any case, we may fairly assume that even the best informed of the Tractarian leaders—who, by the way, seem to have undertaken to edit the Fathers before reading them—knew for practical purposes little of any part of English life which lay outside the religious interests or controversies of Oxford. They had but very little means of influencing the laity. Of the Dissenters; of the world of science; of the circles influenced by Mill and Bentham; of the

men who, like Arnold and Maurice, were intensely interested in questions of the day; of Carlyle, and of men like Carlyle; of the whole world which lay outside the influence of the Church of England; of the movements going on in the Roman Catholic Church; of Roman Catholicism itself as it actually existed, the Puseyites of 1836 seem to have known nothing. That Hurrell Froude should describe the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland as the "Irish schism," is a curious specimen of the contorted and artificial view which the early Anglicans took of the world about them. As you read Mr. Mozley, you feel as if he and his friends had attempted to revolutionize England without ever opening their eyes to the facts of English life. Newman's 'Apologia' itself gives sufficient proof of the fact, which the 'Reminiscences' confirm, that the leaders of the Oxford movement had nearly reached Rome before they clearly saw what was the end to which their path was leading.

This blindness to the facts of English life accounts to a great degree for the curious way in which Mr. Mozley and his friends seem to have underrated, as he apparently still underrates, the strength of English Protestantism. The real gist of the strange series of arguments (if so they may be called) by which he vindicates his qualified belief in the distinctive dogmas of Romanism, is that Anglicanism of a very High-Church type is the creed of English churchmen, and that this creed does not differ essentially from that of Rome. If, as is probable, the men of whom he was the follower and the ally shared the feelings of their disciple, we can understand the failure of the Tractarians to affect the large mass even of churchmen. They did not realize the patent fact that the vast majority of English laymen are essentially Protestants. Mr. Mozley's arguments betray a further and a much deeper source of weakness, which was of itself almost fatal to the success of the Oxford movement. Every one of his reasons for accepting the doctrine of Rome is in reality an application of the well-worn, and to most men by no means convincing, formula, that "you must believe everything or nothing." This mode of reasoning is clearly derived by Mr. Mozley from his teachers. As assailants of prevalent Protestantism, Newman, Ward, and a host of their followers had to adopt the attitude of sceptics. Doubt was to be made the means of producing faith. In particular instances the process gave the desired result; but two consequences also often followed which were certainly not contemplated by preachers who undoubtedly did not intend to propagate scepticism. Some disciples accepted the wrong horn of the proposed dilemma, and preferred general doubt to belief in what appeared to them specific falsehoods. In others there was produced a condition of what may be termed stunted scepticism. Men who saw the difficulties of belief, and who dreaded negation, took up an attitude of semi-belief in doctrines which they could not pronounce to be false without, as they thought, denying the truth of other beliefs which they wished to hold true. Now, such stunted scepticism is, on the whole, favorable to practical conservatism, but is certainly not likely to induce most men to make a complete change in their beliefs, in their mode of life, and in their whole position. Mr. Mozley says, honestly enough, that had he been born a Roman Catholic he would have remained a Roman Catholic throughout life. The influence, in other words, of his teachers tended on the whole to make him remain true to any creed which he had once received by birth or education; but that very teaching indisposed him to leave the community in which he was born. Here, as elsewhere, Mr.

Mozley's self-revelation reveals the thoughts of other hearts. The Oxford movement was arrested because it was based on theories involving something like self-contradiction. Scepticism was used as a means of creating belief, and an appeal to intellectual and moral conservatism was made the foundation of a movement which logically terminated, as in the case of Newman, with a tremendous change. For the most part, conservative instinct was stronger than logic, and Anglicans, like Mr. Mozley, in search of rest rightly enough found such rest as they could in adherence to Anglicanism.

SCHIPPER'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH METRES.

Englische Metrik in historischer und systematischer Entwicklung dargestellt. Von Dr. J. Schipper. Erster Theil: Altenglische Metrik. Bonn: Strauss. Pp. xxvii.-565.

THE want of a systematic treatise upon the origin and growth of English versification has been felt so long that even an inferior work would be sure of a welcome. All the more gladly, then, do we greet the present work, which is in every sense a masterpiece and worthy of a place by the side of Ten Brink's history of our early literature (see *Nation*, No. 667). For twenty years and upward a vain dictum has been in vogue among English and American scholars, to the effect that the Germans, while they might be good enough at special investigations, had little power of generalization, little breadth of view. We ask our readers to note the fine irony of fact. The only two works that have investigated our literature (first its substance, and now its form) as a phenomenon of continuous growth from the obscure early Middle Ages down to the dawn of modern times, tracing its organic relations with the literatures of other peoples, are precisely the works of these two Germans. Not one English scholar has made so much as an attempt.

The present volume covers the ground down to the Elizabethan period, more precisely, to the Renaissance. Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, and Sir David Lyndsay are the latest poets discussed. As the tyro knows full well, this archaic period is not only difficult, but in great part downright discouraging. The maze of irregular, uncouth verse-forms can be likened only to an Indian jungle. We need not be at a loss for the cause. Our poetry began by being the naive expression of an untutored folk, and its rhythm (alliterative verse) was familiar to all. But through the spread of ecclesiastical training and habits, even before the Norman Conquest, and in consequence of the wholesale borrowing and imitation of foreign themes and metres, to which the Conquest gave a wonderful dynamic impulse, the English folk came gradually to unlearn their native rhythm, and to acquire, by slow and painful steps, the art of composing in Latin-Romance metres. Prof. Schipper is the first, even in Germany, to throw light upon this obscure process as a whole and in all its details.

The first forty pages treat of the general principles underlying all versification, such as arsis, thesis, ictus, quantity and accent, tone, rhyme. This introductory matter might be abridged considerably without loss. Besides, we cannot assent to the author's opinion (§ 25) that rhyme may have been, in Germanic languages, a spontaneous outgrowth. We hold, once for all, that the practice of rhyming is of Latin-Romance invention, and that its use in German and English is a mere borrowing. The real beginning of the work is section 2, pages 39-77, upon Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse. It will be found satisfactory in perhaps every respect but one: section 29, on the "quality" of alliteration—i. e., which

sounds properly alliterate and which do not—is altogether too vague and meagre, especially when contrasted with the succeeding paragraph, on the relations of the alliterative sounds to the grammatical character and syntactic position of the several classes of words. We call attention here to the circumstance that Schipper is a firm adherent to the "new" theory, according to which the full line, *Langzeile*, has only four beats (*Hebungen*), two in each hemistich. He has not even deemed it worth while to combat the old eight-beat theory of Lachmann; but the foot-notes cite all the recent literature on the subject. Apparently, the eight-beat theory is doomed.

Section 3 (pp. 78-293) treats of the introduction of foreign metres, such as the Latin *septenarius*, the octosyllabic rhyming couplet, the French *Alexandrine*; also the expansion and modification of the native alliterative verse, its revival, so called, in the fourteenth century, and its gradual extinction. This section is the *crux* of the book, and is bound to provoke much hostile criticism. Already one sharp review, by Eienkel, has appeared in the *Anglia* (Anzeiger, V., 30-53). We have no space for entering into the controversy, and can only indicate the cardinal point. Schipper does not accept for Old English the theory (commonly accepted for *Mittelhochdeutsch*) that an inflection-vowel after a long stem-syllable must be read with a subsidiary accent (*Nebenton*), so as to count for a full verse-measure—thus *lôre*—but asserts that such vowels are usually unaccented (*tonlos*). The point, apparently a trifle, is really wide-reaching in its consequences. If we side with Schipper, we shall regard Layamon's "Brut"—to give merely one striking example—as composed in the old alliterative rhythm, four beats to the full line. But if we side with Eienkel, we shall have to reject its alliterative flow altogether, and read it by four-beat couplets, thus getting eight beats to the full line. Our decision will turn upon the scansion of the "Ormulum." Schipper has subjected this poem to a most searching examination, and has shown that to apply to it such a method of accentuation as *lôre* would utterly run its verse-flow. To which Eienkel replies by rejecting the "Ormulum" as a standard. He goes even so far as to assert (*ibid.*, p. 38) that its author "violates the rules of accent of his speech at every turn (*Augenblick*)," and again, p. 47, calls its metre a *Zwitter* between four-beat rhythm and French syllable-counting. When rubbish like this is proffered for argument, we can only hold our breath in amazement. A critic must indeed be at his wits' end when he accuses Orm of violating the rules of English accent; for if there be any one poem between the times of "Beowulf" and the times of Chaucer and Gower that is easy to scan, it is assuredly the "Ormulum." To an English ear and tongue the poem does not offer any difficulty worth noting. In truth, Orm was, for his day, a metrical and linguistic genius in comparison with whom Layamon and all the others were the veriest blunderers. Hence Schipper has done wisely in selecting the "Ormulum" as a standard of utterance. And the choice confirms us in a surmise based upon many other minor indications—to wit, that Schipper is possessed of a thoroughly English ear. He does not, like Eienkel, Trautmann, Jessens, construct impossible scansion on paper, but tests his reading by the actual sound. Thus he is the only German scholar (to our knowledge) that has a clear and sure perception of our Anglo-American fondness for what he calls *Taktumstellung*, what we are in the habit of calling "choriambic" movement—e. g., in the well-known line from Orm:

'After the fêshes kinde,

rather than

After the fêshes kinde.

Section 4 (p. 294 to the end) treats of the "strophic" structure of our verse, as borrowed or imitated from Latin, Provençal, and French; of the Burthen, Refrain, Wheel, Bob-Wheel, etc.; and of the iambic pentameter of Chaucer, Gower, Lyndesay. It is by far the most interesting section, and also the most important to students of our modern verse. We can scarcely say that it is less difficult than the preceding section, but it is certainly less dry. Its difficulty lies in the application of well-known principles to an endless variety of forms. The student ought to find here much pleasant reading. Chaucer's iambic pentameter alone gets fifty pages, yet no one, surely, will find in them a page too many, or a word of praise that he could wish abated.

Schipper's style has not the clearness nor the grace of Ten Brink's. In many places his syntax is involved and confusing. But, by way of compensation, he has given us two things that Ten Brink withheld: first, he has appended an exhaustive alphabetical index of authors, poems, and subjects; then, he has cited in his foot-notes the title in full of every book referred to. One has only to copy off these titles to get a complete bibliography of the whole subject. We have not detected a single omission of importance. We earnestly hope our author will complete his noble work as he has begun it, and that right speedily.

History of Woman Suffrage. Edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. Vol. II. 1861-76. Fowler & Wells. 1882. 8vo, pp. 952.

THE scrap-book of which we have here a second instalment is not yet exhausted, and the editors are able to announce a third volume, doubtless of companionable size, and possibly, let but a single State meantime concede the ballot to women, of greater interest. As we write, an active canvass is being carried on in Nebraska by both wings of the woman suffragists, to insure the acceptance of a proffered constitutional amendment to that end; and it cannot be denied that the public mind has become much more accustomed, if not reconciled, to the idea than it was in 1867, when a similar effort was made and failed in Kansas. Only a day or two ago, also, the Supreme Court of Connecticut refused to exclude women from the bar, whereas in 1869 Mrs. Myra Bradwell was denied admission to the Illinois bar, on grounds which might, we imagine, have been equally well adopted by the Connecticut court.

The war caused an utter suspension of the woman's-rights agitation, but, if the movement stood still, it did not lose ground. The part played by women in the Sanitary Commission and in the hospital service brought into relief the heroic and patriotic qualities of the sex. On the other hand, the spirit of ridicule and violence was completely allayed. The volume before us does not, we believe, record a single instance of popular disturbance of a woman's-rights meeting. This is attributable not so much to a growth of respect in the community as to the overthrow of slavery, the arch-enemy of free discussion and the chief fomentor of intolerance and mobs. Moreover, in 1864, one woman at least, Anna Dickinson, had taken the stump at the invitation of the Republican managers, with acknowledged effectiveness, and thus emphasized the paradox that while women were fit to help carry elections by giving advice to voters, they were not fit to vote. In 1868 the National Democratic Convention in this city gravely received, listened to, and referred a letter from

Miss Anthony, a *soi-disant* delegate, asking permission to be heard in favor of a woman's-suffrage plank in its platform. In 1872 the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia conciliated the support of this easily-satisfied lady and her friends by a "splinter," rather than a plank, declaring that woman's "demands for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration." Hollow and insincere as this profession was, it astonishingly marked the progress of public sentiment since the ante-bellum days, when women met only in "hen conventions," amid the jeers of the obscene and the assurances of the good and wise that they were unsexing themselves by their "demands for additional rights."

Strange to say, the greatest impediment to the cause came from the women advocates themselves. In 1869 they divided into two semi-hostile organizations, which have been perpetuated to this day. The causes of this split are neither clearly nor ingenuously set forth in this 'History,' which has been compiled by the faction known as the National Woman Suffrage Association. Its early connection and coöperation with a notorious charlatan of the male sex and an equally notorious blackmailing adventurer are but faintly suggested; and the real character of its policy, begun in 1867, of offering its support to any party ready to cajole it with empty phrases, may easily escape the ordinary reader. Efforts to defeat negro suffrage unless woman suffrage were also accorded (as in Kansas), failed because the American people knew what was the main issue of the reconstruction period. Efforts to wring the ballot from the Federal Constitution by a forced and absurd construction of the Fourteenth Amendment, failed for obvious reasons. The more legitimate attempt in 1867 to induce the New York Constitutional Convention to eradicate the word male from the new charter failed because public opinion was by no means ready for such an innovation—was not even prepared to allow women to vote for delegates to that Convention, as Senator Folger proposed at the time in their behalf. And so, while many advances toward equality and some toward a partial suffrage have been made in the period surveyed in this book, no State has yet set the example of abolishing the distinction of sex at the polls, in the jury-box, in the Legislature.

It is well known that the loose constructionists who held that the Fourteenth Amendment applied to women, manifested their sincerity by sundry endeavors to vote, some with success, like Miss Anthony; and that this led to an indictment of the latter, her conviction, and sentence to pay a fine, as well as to the conviction and imprisonment, till pardoned by the President, of the inspectors of election who permitted her to register. The humor of the present volume must be sought in this episode, or nowhere else:

"During the intermediate period between November 28, 1872 [the date of her being bound over], and January 21, 1873 [the date of the Albany term of the United States District Court], Miss Anthony, in the eye of the law, was imprisoned; but the Marshal, though somewhat uneasy, left her free to fulfil her Lyceum engagements and attend woman-suffrage conventions. A singularly anomalous position for a criminal, travelling about the country as a teacher of morals to the people! Learning that in case the jury returned a verdict of guilty, the judge must declare the costs of the trial against the defendants, she determined to canvass Monroe County, in order to make a verdict of 'guilty' impossible. She held meetings in twenty-nine of the post-office districts, speaking on the equal rights of all citizens to the ballot. Hearing that District-Attorney Crowley threatened to move her trial out of that county, she sent him word that she would then canvass the next with an army of speakers.

"The Court sat in Rochester [Monroe County,

where the offence was committed], May 13th, but several days passed without calling the case. Finally, it was moved by District-Attorney Crowley merely to ask its adjournment to the June United States Circuit Court at Canandaigua. Counsel protested, but without avail, and both the women [thirteen had registered along with Miss A.] and the inspectors were again required to answer the charge and renew bail. This motion for change of venue was made on Friday, and the following Monday night Miss Anthony held her first meeting in Ontario County. In the twenty-two days before the convening of the Court she made twenty-one speeches. Matilda Joselyn Gage came to her aid, and spoke in sixteen townships, thus together making a thorough canvass of that county."

"The last meeting of the series was held at Canandaigua on the evening before the trial. Strong resolutions against these acts of injustice toward woman were introduced by Mrs. Gage and unanimously endorsed by the audience. Thus the case went to trial with ample opportunity for the District Attorney and the Judge to know the opinions of the people, and for the men of Ontario to be too generally enlightened on the subject to find any twelve men who could be trusted to bring in a verdict of guilty against the women for voting, or the inspectors for receiving their votes." (Pp. 629-30.)

The Judge, however, directed the jury to find a verdict of guilty.

The Philosophical System of Antonio Rosmini-Serbatì. Translated, with a Sketch of the Author's Life, Bibliography, Introduction, and Notes, by Thomas Davidson. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

THE "Latin" races, especially the French and the Italians, are beginning to play an active part in that revival of philosophical activity which distinguishes the recent years of our generation. The reading of Italian is becoming more and more a necessity to every one who wishes his heart to beat in unison with the "best thought" of his time. Mr. Davidson, yielding to this irresistible attraction, has discovered, so to speak, and revealed to our dull English-reading minds the existence of an Italian writer whom he holds to be not only a philosopher but a saint of the first magnitude, and who died as recently as 1855. A perusal of Mr. Davidson's well-written life of Rosmini proves him to have been indeed a man cast in the heroic mould. Of gentle blood, a priest, almost a Cardinal, the founder of a great religious order, dying at the age of fifty-eight, much of his life in poor health, he nevertheless found time to exco-gitate and write out ninety-nine separate books on an immense variety of subjects, a very large number of which are octavos in more than one volume, treating in the most systematic way of the most arduous subjects—metaphysics, logic, ethics, psychology, and the like. When it is added that in these works the treatment is not only systematic, but invariably original, and that Rosmini's range of reading, embracing as it impartially did the whole range of ancient, modern, and mediæval authors, has probably never been surpassed even by any German professor, it is obvious that whether Rosmini's ideas be true or not, the *type* of his mind gives him no low rank in the not very numerous brotherhood of intellectual giants.

The present work is a sort of compendium of his whole system, written in short separate sections, and elucidated by editorial comments and copious translations of passages from Rosmini's larger and more special works. We may as well say now that the translator's part has been admirably performed. Nothing that learning and care could do has been left undone by Mr. Davidson, who, though far from disposed to swear to all the words of his master, has given here most substantial aid to his meaning.

And now as for the meaning. We fear that this volume alone is inadequate to its complete

expression. We have read it twice and find that the formulas it applies to the universe, and the answers it gives to ancient problems, evoke a series of new questions as formidable as any it professes to solve. Whether this be because the book pretends to be but an abridgment and a compendium, leaving much out, or whether the minds of both author and editor have failed to take everything into consideration, may here be left an undecided question. We shall not make this newspaper article unreadable by propounding our difficulties, but pass on to shadow forth to our readers, in such feeble words as we possess, what seems the most central and original part of Rosmini's thought.

Some one has said that the art of philosophizing is to see the strange as if it were familiar and the familiar as if it were strange. Now, of all things familiar to the mind, surely *being* is certainly the most so. "Is," and "was," and "will be" constitute the very warp of its structure. But Rosmini has been able to take this bare contentless notion of Being, which, transparent, imponderable, impalpable as the imagined ether of the physicist, yet ubiquitous as it, fills continuously all the crevices and crannies of the world; and he has been able so to detach himself from the prepossessions of ingrained habit as to regard it as if it might not have been—to project it from his intelligence as a positive object existing separately by itself; to make it come and go, and act, and illuminate the mind, and change its mode, and mediate between this and that, as if it were a living thing. A casual reader taking up his book for the first time and coming upon all this talk about Being, receives in its intensest form that strange impression that metaphysical books so often give, of a sort of mental vacuum, with no fixed support, and of his own equal readiness to agree with or to dissent from any given proposition, since he never can tell exactly in what "sense" it is meant, or with just what concrete matters it has to do. If power to deal definitely with abstractions be the mark of the true philosopher, certainly Rosmini bears off the palm by his treatment of Being. We, too, end by catching a little of his spirit, and find out what help the notion of bare Being can be made to yield.

From the time of Plato and the Sophists, there has reigned an inveterate philosophic quarrel between two types of mind which may be called sensationalistic and rationalistic, respectively. If we name Mr. Herbert Spencer and the Concord School of Philosophy, it will easily be seen why we call the quarrel inveterate. The reasons why there should be such a quarrel lie deep in the constitution of our mental life. This may, on the one hand, be regarded as a mere part of Nature—a train of feelings and particular conscious events, occupying definite tracts in an outwardly existing time. Or, on the other hand, it may be regarded in a totally different way, as something which stands outside of Time and Nature and *cognizes* them. What is cognized may be a past feeling, or a relation of similitude or contrast between a past and a present one, or it may be a reality supposed material or disconnected with the mind altogether, or another spirit like the mind itself. But, whatever it be, it is always something different from the immediate feeling through which its cognition takes place. The latter, in knowing it, transcends its own, so to speak, physical existence. The consequence is that we are entitled to consider the mind in two entirely different manners—physically or transcendently: we may inquire into its letter, or into its spirit; into its constitution, and the laws that seem to govern the order of its events, or into the purport and meaning of the latter, the objective truth that

each of them reveals. The characteristically English sensationalist school of Locke, Hume, and the Mills has considered the mind in the former way exclusively, and either ignored the mysterious self-transcendent function of cognition altogether, or else tried to deduce it as a sort of collateral consequence from the laws of grouping of the separate special feelings. The transcendentalists, or rationalists, object that this procedure, so far from explaining the function of cognition, proves it impossible, and leads straight to the bottomless abyss of an absolute scepticism and "subjectivism." There is at this day among us and in Great Britain a fervid rationalistic school, professing to inherit the combined mantles of Kant and Hegel; and the Alpha and Omega of its teaching is that the sensistic mode of studying psychology has hitherto massacred the mind in its most essential function and faculty, the power of real objective knowledge, and that this faculty can only be restored to it by dropping sensations and their groupings out of our notice altogether, and treating the whole matter as the case of a self-conscious ego, endowed with the mysterious power of Pure Reason. Any one who wishes to see how this modern ego-worship may solve all the philosophical difficulties of a deeply-serious spirit, should read the posthumous essay by Professor Green, of Oxford, which has lately appeared in *Mind*.

Now, for Rosmini, the mere presence of an ego to a series of feelings is as little capable of giving us real objective knowledge as are the feelings themselves. His complaint (ably argued enough) against Kant and Hegel is that their systems lead to a subjectivism quite as bottomless as any they attribute to the school of Hume. The intuition of Being is for him the only thing that can confer objective knowledge. With all other categories of Thought abolished, and with the intuition of Being left as the sole function of our Reason in contrast with our sensations; with the facts of sensation in their widest sense, including among them (whisper it not at Concord) the Ego itself, Rosmini builds up his universe, and claims to have satisfied all demands and to have been unjust to neither of the two opposite ways of viewing the mind. Certainly, no philosopher appears to have done more justice to the feelings merely as such. The most rabid Humian is hardly more radical than he. Only he holds with the anti-Humians that each fact of feeling is in itself "blind," having a merely physical or non-cognitive existence, and needing the light of the intellect to appear to consciousness as the fact it is. This "light of the intellect," or "ideal Being," is purely *Object*. "By *Object* we understand a term seen in such a way that the seer sees neither himself nor any relation to himself, and that himself remains excluded and forgotten while the term stands by itself and appears as existing in an absolute mode. . . . The essence of Being becomes the form of our spirits simply and solely by making us know, by revealing to us its own natural cognizability. Hence there is no reaction on the part of our spirits. These are simply receptive, and the light, the knowledge they receive, is what renders them intelligent" (pp. 193-195).

No one can fail to perceive how entirely different this absolute object is from the absolute subject of Hegelism. By successively combining our feelings with our intuition of pure being, by weaving the subjective facts upon this vast objective background, we build up, according to Rosmini, a world of experience veraciously cognized for what it is. To us it seems as if both Rosmini and the transcendental egoists were making the same mistake, trying to give preëminence each to a different one of two terms

equally correlated in cognition, and so to alleviate that metaphysical disease, the unbridled lust after unity. We believe, however, that Rosmini clings a great deal the closer to the actual facts of psychology. But for this and all further matters we must now refer the reader fond of what Miss Edgeworth calls "the not inelegant labyrinths of metaphysics" to the book itself. Such a reader will not find that Rosmini makes all things clear; but if repelled by much that is obscure and scholastic in his pages, he will certainly gain that refreshment that always comes of contact with a master-mind.

Hints and Remedies for the Treatment of Common Accidents and Diseases, and Rules of Simple Hygiene. The two parts complete. Compiled by Dawson W. Turner, D.C.L., late Head Master of the Royal Institution School, Liverpool; sometime Student of Westminster Hospital and of Charing Cross Hospital. Revised, corrected, and enlarged by twelve eminent medical men belonging to different hospitals in London, and by one Right Reverend Bishop of the Established Church, formerly Surgeon to one of the London hospitals and F.R.C.S. With numerous additions from the eighth English edition. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

THE title of this little volume is given in full partly because it is in itself a literary curiosity, and partly in order that the reader may appreciate the reluctance with which anything like adverse criticism is offered; in England, indeed, the requisite hardihood could hardly be found, excepting among those who never need the services of "eminent medical men" and who entertain some misgivings respecting the authority of the "Established Church." Not that all commentary need be adverse. On the contrary, in this, as in all other books of the kind, there is much to be cordially approved as likely to aid the ignorant or thoughtless to avoid disease and to give relief in cases of illness or accident. Especial stress is laid upon the importance of cleanliness and ventilation, the care of the eyes and teeth, etc. Perhaps the pages devoted to "How to Build a Fire" and "How to Make Tea and Coffee" might have been advantageously devoted to other matters; but probably no two persons would agree as to the exact limits of such a work.

The positively objectionable features are: the malarrangement of the entire work; its inadequacy upon some important points; its non-adaptation to this country, and its style of composition. Contrary to the order indicated in the title, the first nine pages are occupied with twenty-four "Rules of Simple Hygiene"; but the Appendix to this Part is interposed between the Second Part and the Appendix thereto. The Care of the Teeth is treated of, under different headings, on pages 1, 2, 3, 8, 59, and 60; and so definite a matter as Bathing is discussed in Rules i., xi., xxii., and xxiii. The order of the leading topics is ostensibly alphabetical, but exceptions are numerous and inexplicable. Even were the order unbroken, it would not atone for the lack of both Index and Table of Contents, in a work supposed to be consulted in haste upon some occasions. Considering that the appendices are more voluminous than the original work, it is to be hoped that future editions may embody a radical readjustment.

Among important matters inadequately treated may be mentioned Drowning. Here, if anywhere, we should look for full and explicit directions, well spaced off for ready reference, and for some distinction between the parts relating particularly to Drowning and those which apply equally to Suspended Animation from

other causes, as, *e. g.*, Chloroform Narcosis, under which a reference is made to Drowning. Yet to this common and urgent emergency is given less than a page, about the same as to "Bad Leg," and not much more than to "Corns." There is a single, involved paragraph beginning, "Strip the patient immediately and wipe him quite dry," which under some circumstances would be inappropriate and, even in case of drowning, should not prevent for an instant the performance of artificial respiration. So, too, the injunction, "Do not give up rubbing for four hours," might well lead a single operator to defer, or at least intermit, the more essential manipulations. Of the three accredited modes of resuscitation, only one (Sylvester's) is given, requiring the coöperation of three or more persons. In the early part of the paragraph the patient is to be laid on his face, and nothing is said as to reversing his posture for the movement of the arms; neither is there an intimation of the difficulty—nay, almost impossibility—of keeping the tongue from falling back upon the glottis. Upon the whole, the unprofessional operator would stand a better chance of success if he rolled his patient upon a barrel in the ancient fashion. Perhaps the author meant to admit the insufficiency of his directions by calling them "general," and by referring the reader to the "Directions of the Humane Society and the National Lifeboat Association."

An American edition of such a work ought surely to mention the vicious habit of frying meat, the dangers of kerosene oil, the abuse of patent medicines, and the precautions in regard to icy sidewalks and railroad accidents. What kind of revision can it be which permits the unchallenged publication of the following: "Bear in mind that the administration of chloroform is preferable to, and safer than, that of ether, unless this last be given by a medical man?" (The italics are ours.) The *New York Medical Record*, in a recent editorial (July 29), remarks:

"The conveniences of administration, rapidity of action, and comparative agreeableness of the drug [chloroform] to the patient, are more than offset by the chances of occasionally killing the patient as suddenly and as unexpectedly as if by lightning. . . . Any dental surgeon who would use the drug with fatal result would be indictable for manslaughter, and a surgeon who would do likewise would not be much better off."

To which may be added the somewhat significant facts that chloroform is commonly employed to kill animals for scientific purposes, and has even been suggested as a substitute for the halter in judicial executions. Nor is the mischievous effect of the present recommendation of chloroform for unprofessional anaesthesia adequately neutralized by the clumsy minuteness of the directions for its administration, covering two pages, and embracing the injunctions: "Don't take your eyes off the patient's lips for a moment. . . . In case of any danger or difficulty, open his mouth wide and pull the tongue quite forward. Lastly, and most important [then why not firstly?], if any indication of faintness comes on," etc. One is tempted to speculate whether the warnings in the case of the "more dangerous" ether could do more toward unnerving the operator and depressing his patient.

The literary style of the work is almost beneath criticism. Colloquial and commonplace as a whole, it is interlarded with French, Latin, and even Greek phrases, and embellished with cheap witticisms and scraps of doggerel. In particularly bad taste are paragraphs on pp. 8, 35, 49, and 67. What might perhaps be pardoned in an off-hand talk upon hygiene with boys at a boarding-school is wholly out of place in a published book. The unnamed "twelve medical

men" are variously described as "of great experience," "of great distinction," "of the highest authority," etc. This kind of thing may aid the sale of the book in England, but it will not commend itself to the profession here any more than the intercalation of patent medicines and homoeopathic "remedies" among regular formulæ, or the following curious remark: "Either of these [formulæ] will pretty certainly help you to get rid of your cold, and, if you are simple enough to believe it, will cure you."

The Land of Dykes and Windmills; or, Life in Holland. With Anecdotes of Noted Persons, and Historical Incidents in connection with England. By Frederic Spencer Bird. London: Sampson Low. 1882. Pp. xii.-320.

MR. BIRD touches lightly upon very many details of the daily life, both present and past, of the Dutch middle and lower classes, interspersing his accounts with anecdotes and historical allusions derived chiefly from old chronicles. The impression which he gives us of the people is uniformly pleasant. The Dutchman, as pictured by him, is courteous, sober, industrious, and eminently cautious. Of this latter characteristic he gives several examples: "Druggists are prohibited from preparing and selling the most simple mixture unless the prescription of a doctor be produced." In case there is an infectious disease in any house, the proprietor is obliged to put upon the street-door "a printed notice announcing the fact to the public." No loaded wagon weighing over four tons can pass through Amsterdam without permission "from the chief engineer of the town, who furnishes an order in which is described the exact route to be taken, such order to be countersigned by the burgomaster." A notice posted at the entrance of the village of Broek directs "that riders must dismount and lead their horses when passing through. It further prohibits tobacco-smoking after sunset (a precaution against fire), and states that even in the daytime pipes must be provided with proper covers." Two hundred years ago the taxes were so numerous that Sir William Temple says that in Amsterdam, "before one could be served with a plate of fish with ordinary sauce, thirty different duties had to be paid." Some of these taxes are to be commended to the notice of the temperance advocates of our own day. "A tax of five cents was levied on each person who entered a tavern before noon. In the afternoon the tax was increased. . . . For the privilege of drinking beer in a brewery after two P.M. there was a small tax to be paid. Persons who assembled in a private house after three P.M. for the purpose of amusing themselves, had each to pay a certain sum." A chapter devoted to a description of the festivities accompanying betrothal and marriage in North Holland is prefaced by an account of marriages by proxy. These, it is said, are

"frequently celebrated . . . when the parties reside at such a distance from each other as to make it difficult or impossible for both to be present in the *Stadhuis* where the ceremony takes place. . . . The preliminaries being settled, the gentleman sends one of his gloves, which is worn on the appointed day by a friend or relation, who acts as his proxy, and who is present with the bride, and represents the absent bridegroom while the marriage contract is being completed. The formalities over, the separated lovers are legally as much man and wife as though they had actually stood side by side in the *Stadhuis* to be married, and should either of the parties die before the happy moment of meeting, the survivor would be entitled to claim the estate and effects of the deceased as fully as if they had lived together for years."

Contrary to the general notion, that the Dutch are quiet and sober even in their pleasures, Mr. Bird tells us that at times their mirth can be

very uproarious. At the Kermis, or annual fair, for instance, the streets are thronged till two or three o'clock in the morning with bands of men and women who "dance, or rather jump, through the streets, heedless of obstacles, and singing a monotonous kind of song or chant, to which, by their movements, they endeavor to keep time." The following custom is one which must be productive both of comfort and economy, and might well be adopted in our cities during the summer months:

"Many poor persons, in Dutch towns, get a living by supplying burning turf and boiling water for making tea and coffee. At breakfast and tea-time, an iron vessel like a coal-hod is brought into the room, having inside a kettle of water placed upon red-hot turf. . . . As the dealer generally lives in some little street close at hand, the boiling water and fuel can be supplied at a moment's notice, and at a trifling charge."

The last five chapters give an account of the escape of Grotius from the castle of Loevestein, and incidents of the life of Charles II. of England while an exile in Holland.

The Faiths of the World. St. Giles Lectures. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

THE collective significance of this book is hardly less remarkable than that of the 'Scotch Sermons,' the publication of which, two years ago, created such a stir in circles theological and ecclesiastical. This book, like that, emanates from a group of Scotch Presbyterians. The authors are identical in but a single case—fortunately that of Principal Caird, who leads off the series here as there, and here as there with two lectures, those who follow him having but one apiece. The 'Scotch Sermons' were a statement of Christian doctrines in terms so novel and so much at variance with the obvious meaning of the Westminster Confession, that the perturbation caused was less considerable than that caused by the famous 'Essays and Reviews' only because of much disintegration in the course of twenty years. The effects of this have been in nothing more conspicuous than in the exposition and criticism of faiths other than Christian by preachers and scholars of the Christian Church. The change of method and of tone has been immense. Twenty years ago, the average Christian apologist felt it incumbent on himself to state the contrast between Christianity and other great religions in the most glaring manner. "The Sympathy of Religions" was a subject left for Christians close upon the verge of infidelity to expatiate upon. To seek out the worst constructions, to write down the Brahman, the Mohammedan, systematically—this was the order of the day: take, for example, Hardwick's 'Christ and Other Masters.' The 'Ten Great Religions' of Dr. James Freeman Clarke, a liberal Unitarian, represents the extreme of sympathy and fairness a dozen years ago. But it is not too much to say that the average method of the book which is the subject of this notice is an advance upon the work of Dr. Clarke in point of general sympathy and catholic appreciation.

It was certainly a happy judgment that assigned the lectures on Brahmanism and Buddhism to Principal Caird. The Hegelianism which was so conspicuous in his 'Philosophy of Religion,' and there made it so easily possible for him to detect the essence of religion under disguises which are baffling to dogmatic eyes, here also stands him in good stead. Thus, in the lecture upon Buddhism, it enables him honestly to discover in the apparent atheism of the Buddhist's creed an element of implicit theism. One's acquaintance with the method of Hegel need not be great in order to discover it in the following bit of exposition:

"But those who thus identify Buddhism with atheism overlook two all important considerations: first, that the negation of Buddhism could not exist without a virtual affirmation; and, secondly, that all religion, and the Christian religion most of all, contains a negative element—or that negation is a necessary step in the process by which the human spirit rises into communion with God. As to the former of these points, it needs little reflection to see that that very recognition of the nothingness of the world and of all finite objects of desire, which in Buddhism reaches its climax, is a virtual appeal to a positive standard of reality by which we measure the world and pronounce this verdict. . . . A religion whose cardinal doctrine is the negation of the finite, bears unconscious evidence to the fact that it has already transcended the finite."

Both of Principal Caird's lectures are written in the fresh and streaming style which he is always able to command, whether in a popular sermon or more serious discourse. A monotheistic pantheism is his ideal faith—an ideal which he finds made actual in Christianity—and it is the failure of Brahmanism and Buddhism to embody the monotheistic factor which, in his opinion, is the defect of their excellence. In his treatment of the Vedic period he is less inclined than Barth and Tiele to attribute to the Vedic hymns a recondite and sacerdotal character. He insists upon the purely formal character of their polytheism; that essentially the Upanishads are not more polytheistic than the hymns. Caste, and the relation of Brahmanism and Buddhism to it, are discussed at considerable length and with much penetration. In Buddhism is discovered a return to the fundamental principles of Brahmanism to which the elder religion had proved sadly recreant. But with the return there was also an advance.

The lecture on Confucianism is by Dr. Matheson, minister of the parish of Innellan. It is written with much force and clearness. The conclusion arrived at is, that

"the doctrine of Confucius owes its success to the fact that it has made a real contribution to the science of natural religion. It gave to the faiths of the East an element that was distinctive and new. . . . It held up the vision of an infinite in the finite—the establishment of a kingdom of heaven upon earth, the existence of a perfected society, the organization of a divine order out of the elements of time. It pointed to the prospect of a paradise below—to the advent of a pure civil government—to the possibility of a reign whose law would be universal blessing; and in the suggestion of that hope it supplied the one feature which was lacking to give the religions of the East a power over the present life."

The defect of Confucianism is declared to be its self-conscious individualism. But when in the course of the discussion we are told that "Christianity has revealed to the world the principle of self-forgetfulness, and that the only road to individual greatness is the banishment of the individual from his own thoughts," many will be inclined to ask if the salvation of the individual soul has not been made eminently prominent in Christian teaching, and if the tendency of this has not been to concentrate the individual's regards upon himself in a manner sometimes painfully engrossing.

The lecture on Parseism, by the Rev. John Milne, suffers in comparison with Prof. Whitney's treatment of the same subject in his 'Oriental and Linguistic Studies.' A fuller treatment of the relations of Parseism to Judaism would have been acceptable here. It is certainly remarkable to find a Scotch Presbyterian contending that Jewish monotheism was perfected by Mazdean influences, and that the doctrine of immortality came into Judaism from the same quarter. Rev. James Dodds, the writer on Egyptian religion, is so much impressed by it that he suggests that only by some primitive revelation could so much of truth akin to that

of the New Testament have got into men's minds. He is, however, less inclined than Renouf to admit that monotheism was ever anything more than the esoteric teaching of an extremely limited circle. The lecture on Mohammedanism gets something additional of warmth and color from its being to some extent a record of the author's personal impressions. There is more in this lecture of the old-fashioned kind of contrast between revealed and natural religion than in some of the other lectures. In that upon Roman Religion there is no adequate suggestion, indeed, none at all, of the religious revival inside of paganism that synchronized with the first Christian centuries, and made the conversion of the Empire a less miraculous occurrence than it might otherwise have seemed. The lectures on Greek and Scandinavian religion are only tolerably good. The introduction of a lecture on the religion of Central America is a novelty in such a course as this. It is exceedingly meagre and conjectural, and could have been omitted without serious harm.

The final lecture, on "Christianity in Relation to Other Religions," would have been more catholic if this also had been assigned to Principal Caird. It should certainly have had the ablest treatment possible, but this has not been granted. The thesis it maintains is that "Christianity is the only religion from which, and in relation to which, all other religions can be viewed in an impartial and truthful manner. . . . Christianity alone occupies the lofty and central vantage-ground from which every phase and phenomenon of religion can be appreciated with all the exactness of human science and all the fulness of human sympathy." "This is a remarkable fact," the writer continues. It is indeed; and, moreover, if it is a fact, it is one which has been less apparent in some earlier stages of Christian development than in that which is represented by this interesting and important book.

Under the Sun. By Phil. Robinson. With a Preface by Edwin Arnold. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1882.

MR. ROBINSON'S name is comparatively new to American readers, and yet there is something rather American in his writing. The volume belongs to a field in which American humorists—or perhaps we should say wags—have done a good deal of work: the treatment of serious subjects in a consciously humorous way. If we can imagine Mr. Warner an Englishman, and an Anglo-Indian at that, he might have written parts of 'Under the Sun' much as they stand. The "Hunting of the Soko" is a story of African adventure in which we feel ourselves surrounded by a haze of humor and fancy that makes the improbabilities of the facts seem a matter of indifference. In the story of "The Man-Eating Tree," on the other hand, we are in a domain of pure extravagance, which, were the scene not laid in Africa, we should actively resent. A great part of the book is occupied with descriptions of Indian life and natural history; and here we have Mr. Arnold's word for it that the work is well done. To our mind, the description is better than the humor; for there is too much consciousness and too little originality about Mr. Robinson as a humorist to make the jokes with which he seasons his descriptive writing thoroughly funny. Indeed, we may say, at the risk of an apparent paradox, that Mr. Robinson would be more humorous were he less jocular. He is at his best in narration, and we are not surprised to learn from his title page that he has been a newspaper correspondent. Extracts would hardly give an idea of the book, and any candid critic who looks over the formidable col-

lection of extracts from English newspapers and reviews published at the end of it, must feel that the reader had better find out for himself what 'Under the Sun' is. One critic declares the author to be "a kind of cross between White of Selborne and the American writer Thoreau"; to another he suggests Dr. Holmes; others find him like Charles Lamb; and, again, we learn that "Mr. Robinson belongs to that school of pure literary essayists whose types are to be found in Lamb and Christopher North and Oliver Wendell Holmes, but who seem to have died out for the most part with the pre-scientific age. One or two of the pieces remind one not a little of Poe in his mood of pure terror with a tinge of mystery." We do not put these opinions side by side for the purpose of proving anything beyond the fact that Mr. Robinson has claims of no mean order upon the attention of the American public. Some of these criticisms or our own must be wrong, but the reader will find it an amusing intellectual exercise, after comparing them, to try to make out for himself what 'Under the Sun' really is. He can hardly look through the book without finding something to his taste.

Altavona. Fact and Fiction from My Life in the Highlands. By John Stuart Blackie, F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1882.

THE hint of the title of this book was taken, the author says, from Goethe's autobiography, but it will not in any other respect recall to the reader the 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' of the German poet. Professor Blackie, having resided for twenty years in the Highlands, and, as he says, "in a position peculiarly well fitted for looking a little into the soul of things there," thought that it would be a pity not to note down in a book his impressions of the country. This he has done in the form of what he calls "ambulatory dialogue," which gives him an opportunity of changing his scene and, with his scene, securing a continual change of subject. He has also another reason for resorting to the form of dialogue, which, we fancy, had a good deal to do with his decision. "I have," he says, "decided opinions on important social questions, but I hate one-sided views. I strive always, when I most violently condemn, to appreciate my antagonist's point of view, and to state sympathetically any circumstances that may either palliate his guilt or make a sort of reasonable apology for his blunder. Now, there is no way of doing this so effective as the dialogue. Both parties in a disputed matter are allowed to state their case strongly, and the reader, as a wise arbiter, is invited to strike a just balance between the two." The characters introduced in 'Altavona' represent an Old Catholic and Highland type, a Presbyterian type (Gaelic, however, at all points), an English Episcopalian type, and a cosmopolitan, philosophic German. What they say is supposed to be a true picture of the opinions respectively held by these types; and the author has worked out his scheme with a great deal of cleverness. But the difficulty with dialogue of this sort is that it proceeds on a false assumption. The characters are not real characters, and what they have to say is seen through the mind of the author. No matter how desirous he is to be fair, the reader knows after all that he must aim at giving his own side the best of the argument; and, consequently, unless the dialogue is a work of great interest as a dialogue, he refuses to accord that reality to the discussion which he would be willing to give if the author merely said what he had to say in *propria persona*. Real dialogues, like those in Boswell's 'Johnson,' or Madame D'Arblay, are always profoundly interesting, because they contain the real discussions of real men and

women; so are the dialogues in a book like the 'New Republic'—a masterpiece, in its way, of pure literature. But every author who undertakes to convey information and correct opinions through fictitious dialogue, does so at his peril, and this peril Mr. Blackie has not avoided. 'Altavona' is a mine of information about the Highlands, its people, customs, language, songs, religion, and amusements. It is a really valuable *vade-mecum* to the country, and we cordially recommend it to any one who wishes to explore the subject; but we must protest against the form into which it has been thrown, and the author's belief that he has heightened the interest by adopting it.

The Political Conspiracies Preceding the Rebellion; or, The True Stories of Sumter and Pickens. By Thomas M. Anderson, Lieut.-Col. U. S. A. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882. 12mo, pp. 100.

SUMTER was a flaming beacon: its flash called a nation to arms, and the fierceness of its glow intensified the shadows. To this day its lights and shades embarrass the interpreter of the incidents that surrounded it. Men ignorant or unmindful of the political situation, and looking at the strictly military features, even now denounce Major Anderson as incompetent, cowardly, or disloyal. In their eyes, the assault on the *Star of the West* should have compelled him to prevent by force of arms the growth of the Carolina batteries. But most who remember the political situation as it was, and have learned the official restrictions that bound him, believe that Anderson acted with judgment, military propriety, and moral courage. Extremists, North and South, to whom the slavery cause was first and that of the Union subordinate, would have precipitated the war at the earliest possible hour. The mass of patriotic men at the North, in their distress at a possible disruption, would have exhausted every pacific agency before resorting to arms. The cross purposes and confused counsel of the ante-bellum period are a labyrinth through which the historical student will not find an easy way.

The writer of this little book vindicates the just fame of his kinsman, and retells the story of the fall of Sumter and the rescue of Pickens. There is very little that is new; the letter of General Meigs, giving his version of the curious military expedition which the Secretary of State set on foot without the knowledge of the Secretary of War or of the Navy, being the only original document. Lieut.-Col. Anderson does not accept the conclusions of the writer of the letter. The essay is often diffuse in style, and sometimes lacks dignity; it omits an occasional link of narration, and its story of facts is accompanied by reflections which, although generally just, are frequently commonplace. *Après nous le déluge* is, oddly enough, called Buchanan's famous phrase. The book is well published, although there is some indifferent proof-reading and there is no index.

Virgil, with an Introduction and Notes, by T. L. Papillon, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, etc. Vol. I. Introduction and Text. Vol. II. Notes. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1882.

THE special value of Mr. Papillon's edition of 'Virgil' is in the Introduction, which contains a mass of information not found, we believe, in any other school edition. It is in four parts: Life and Poems of Virgil; the Text of Virgil; Orthography; and the Virgilian Hexameter. Of course there are few pupils, of the age at which Virgil is generally read, who will care for these discussions; but here and there there will

be one, and at any rate they will be very acceptable to teachers and to students who have not access to the larger editions. Of the commentary, it need only be said that the editor, in his preface, declares as his aim to provide something intermediate in quantity between the commentaries of Conington and Kennedy—"a want that my experience as a college tutor has shown to exist." He appears to have made intelligent use of these commentaries and the other leading editions. If he had been acquainted with Prof. C. L. Smith's paper in the *American Journal of Philology* (Dec., 1881) upon "Virgil's Instructions for Crops," he would certainly have modified some of his notes on the first book of the *Georgics*. Mr. Smith seems to us to have proved that the additional ploughing recommended in verse 48 was in the late winter, probably February, instead of in the autumn, as is usually assumed. When Mr. Papillon says "he alludes to the cultivation of 'novales,'" he ought to have told the student what *novales* were. In the note to Eclogue i. 71, he gives the word three distinct definitions; and what he means in the present case we cannot guess. Another passage explained by Mr. Smith is that in verses 71 to 84, where, however, some points are more uncertain, and a part of his argument rests upon a transposition of verses. But he has, at any rate, proved that peas, etc., were not "a spring crop," but were regularly sown in the fall.

Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States. By Simon Sterne. New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

MR. STERNE has attempted to give a sketch of the Constitution as it stands, accompanied by a history of the political controversies which resulted in its formation and in the changes which it has undergone, together with a presentation of the actual present condition of politics, and of questions demanding the attention of parties. The work is of a popular character, and has the advantage of bringing down the constitutional history of the country to the latest period. It can hardly supplant the constitutional textbooks used in schools and colleges now.

In his chapter on "Current Questions" Mr. Sterne takes up Civil-Service Reform, the Silver Question, the Transportation Problem, Revenue Reform, and, indeed, most of the questions of the day, and discusses them briefly. Mr. Sterne does not hesitate to tell his readers how they ought to be disposed of, and, in the main, his "soundness" cannot be questioned. We only complain here of a certain looseness of treatment, which in a constitutional history is out of place. For instance, with regard to centralization, speaking of the transportation question and the necessity of clothing the General Government with sufficient power to deal with the subject adequately, he says:

"That this necessity runs counter to a very correct theory of decentralization, and that the liberty of the individual is endangered by all centralization of power, is a truth to which thoughtful students of political history cannot shut their eyes. But precisely as in Germany a false decentralization of power had to be succeeded by a nation having centralized national power, with the view to intelligent and proper decentralization, so in turn it may be necessary in many particulars to disregard State lines, and the localizing of power resulting from such State lines, for the purpose of more intelligent and more effectual decentralization in those particulars wherein it is beneficial, and also to secure centralization in those matters wherein decentralization involves danger to the commonwealth."

We are sorry that Mr. Sterne did not take the pains to clear up a little more thoroughly the confusion which surrounds the subject of centralization. There are at least three diffe-

rent senses in which the word is used in the politics of this country, and used without any clear discrimination of the differences between them. It has an historical, a legal, and a political meaning. Historically, it is opposed to State rights; and here it is important to remember that the sentiment out of which the doctrine of State rights grew, or at any rate on which it was founded, is practically dead. Centralization in the United States, in its earliest manifestation, found its most serious obstacle in the fact that every addition to Federal power was secured at the expense of the original sovereignty of the States, which had been, so far as their relations to each other were concerned, independent governments. During the first generation after the Revolution, and in many parts of the country down to the time of the war, every American was born with a sentiment of State allegiance, weaker than, but in kind the same as, the allegiance of a Frenchman or an Englishman to his government. This was, however, a purely historical sentiment, and since the war it may be said to have been completely destroyed. Even in the older States, the notion of anything like allegiance or sovereignty is so dead that it can hardly be considered any longer as a political force, or as likely to produce questions on which parties can possibly divide. It is involved in none of the questions which Mr. Sterne considers "current." Legally, however, the conception of the Constitution, not as an original growth, but as a grant of powers—a charter conferred upon the Federal Government by the States—continues to exist, and must continue to exist until State lines are entirely blotted out. Here, then, centralization makes its inroads by merely modifying the rules of interpretation applied by the courts to the provisions of the Constitution, or by constitutional amendments. This process, however, is very slow, and must be hastened or retarded by considerations drawn from the political view of centralization as a matter of expediency. Such a question as the transportation problem involves both legal and political considerations, and we think that any one who discusses it is bound to show much more clearly than Mr. Sterne does what he means, when he predicts the extension of the powers of the United States over "all industrial and commercial matters as to which the States have a common interest," in order that "the United States may deal with that subject precisely as it deals with the subject of bankruptcy." The analogy between bankruptcy and the business of common carriers seems to us very remote; and if the grant of power over one could be extended to the other, we should be very curious to know precisely by what means. The fact that almost all the railroads in the country are the property of corporations chartered by the States presents a serious legal obstacle; and assuming, as Mr. Sterne assumes, that the change is to be effected by constitutional amendment, what is the change to be? Is the National Government to buy up the entire railroad system of the country? or is a central commission to fix the rates for freight and passenger traffic everywhere? or what is to be done?

Outlines of Ancient History, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Roman Empire. A. D. 476: Embracing the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hebrews, Phœnicians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Intended for private reading, and as a manual of instruction. By P. V. N. Myers, A.M., President of Farmers' College, Ohio, etc. Harper & Bros. 1882. 12mo, pp. 484.

MR. MYERS has made a book which will accomplish very well the purpose he had in view—the

preparation of an interesting and generally accurate sketch of ancient history, designed especially for readers and students who are not classical scholars. Nothing is harder than to make ancient times real to persons of the nineteenth century: Christianity, the Teutonic race, and the absolute principle of government, to say nothing of the radical changes in dress, habits of life, and manner of speech, separate ancient and modern times by a gulf which Mr. Freeman will never succeed in wholly bridging over. Even classical scholars seldom feel toward Charlemagne and William the Conqueror; and certainly this sentiment is impossible to any one who is not imbued with a spirit of antiquity by a close intimacy with its works of literature and art. So far as it can be done, however, in a general sketch, Mr. Myers has succeeded, and this he has done largely by that rare quality in book-makers—a willingness to omit names and dates which are not essential. What strikes one first on opening the book is the absence of capital letters and figures—it looks like a narrative, not a statistical statement—and the reader finds his pathway uninterrupted by the wearisome detail that cumber most books of this character. This merit would outweigh many defects, even if the book were less sound in scholarship than it is. We notice (p. 12) that the Turanians are classed in the Caucasian race. Probably Blumenbach's division of races has little value at the present day; but at any rate the Caucasian race should not include the Tatars, Lapps, and Finns.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Alexander, W. *Sketches of Life Among My Ain Folk*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
 Allen, W. F. *The Reader's Guide to English History*. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 25 cents.
 Bertram, R. A. *A Homiletic Encyclopedia of Illustrations in Theology and Morals*. Funk & Wagnall. \$2 50.
 Brehm's *Thierleben*. Chromo-Ausgabe. Birds, Part 46 (conclusion). Mammals, Parts 46-49.
 Bull, W. Joshua R. Giddings: a Sketch. Cleveland: W. W. Williams.
 Chatterbox, Junior. R. Worthington.
 Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. viii. Fifth Series. Winthrop Papers. Part 4. Published by the Society.
 Dancenhower, Lieutenant. *Narrative of the Jeannette*. Illustrated. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 25 cents.
 Eastern Question; or, An Outline of Mohammedanism: Its Rise, Progress, and Decay. Boston: A. Williams & Co.
 Ellis, Rev. S. *Life of Edwin H. Chapin, D.D.* Boston: Universalist Publishing House. \$1 50.
 Faustine: a Novel. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
 Gréville, H. *Sylvie's Betrothed: a Russian Story*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.
 Heaton, M. C. *Correggio*. Scribner & Welford.
 Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. Army. Authors and Subjects. Vol. III. Cholecyanin-Dzondil. Washington.
 Jenkins, T. J. *The Judges of Faith, and Godless Schools*. Thomas D. Egan.
 Jones, D. M. *Lethe, and Other Poems*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
 Longley, E. *American Phonographic Dictionary*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. \$2 50.
 Magill, Mary Tucker. *Pantomimes; or, Wordless Poems. For Elocution and Calisthenic Classes*. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. \$1.
 Mohl, L. *Life of Haydn*. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. \$1 25.
 Mühlner, W. *Political History of Recent Times, 1816-1875*. Harper & Bros.
 Parloa, Maria. *First Principles of Household Management and Cookery*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 75 cents.
 Peterson, H. *Poems. Second Series*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
 Phelps, A. *My Portfolio: A Collection of Essays*. Chas. Scribner's Sons. \$1 50.
 Phillips, A. W., and Beebe, W. *Graphic Algebra*. Henry Holt & Co. \$2.
 Report of the U. S. Fish Commissioner for 1879. I. Decrease of Food Fishes. II. Their Propagation. Washington.
 Rodd, R. *Rose-Leaf and Apple-Leaf: Poems*. Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co. \$2 50.
 Sanborn, Kate. *Grandma's Garden. With Many Original Poems*. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.
 Schuyler, A. *Empirical and Rational Psychology*. Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co.
 Short, Prof. J. T. *Historical Reference Lists*. Columbus, O.: A. H. Smythe. 40 cents.
 Smiles, S. *Self-Help*. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 20 cents.
 Stack, E. *Six Months in Persia*. In two vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$4 50.
 Stevens, A. *Character-Sketches*. Phillips & Hunt. \$1 50.
 Strange Journey; or, Pictures from Egypt and the Sudan. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 15 cents.
 Washburn, E. A. *Sermons*. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1 75.
 Wheeler, L. *Erothanatos, and Sonnets*. James Miller.
 Wilkinson, W. C. *Preparatory Greek Course in English*. Phillips & Hunt. \$1 25.
 Wonders of the Heart of St. Teresa of Jesus. Baltimore: John B. Piet & Co.
 Zola, E. *The Girl in Scarlet*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. 75 cents.

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MATHEMATICAL AND PHYSICAL Papers. By Sir William Thomson, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Collected from different Scientific Periodicals from May, 1841, to the Present Time. Vol. I. 8vo, Cambridge University Press, \$5.

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